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ISLAM IN THE WORLD

ZAKI ALI

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BY

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(DOCTOR OF MEDICINE)



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KASHMIRI BAZAR LAHORE (India)

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THIS BOOK
IS
DEDICATED TO THE HONOURED MEMORY
OF
MUHAMMAD IQBAL
(1873—1938)

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In the first edition of this book I said that my object in writing it was in the first place, to make a concise and comprehensive presentation of Islam in its essential aspects and secondly, to depict the present state of revival and evolution of the Islamic world and its bearing upon international affairs

What I aim at is to dissipate the misconceptions and fallacies which exist in the West as regards Islam and the Muslims and which engender dangerous prejudices and suspicions I also wish to illustrate the place of Islam in history and in the modern world

Today Islam which numbers almost one-fifth of mankind among its followers is self-conscious and wide awake The tremendous and rapid evolution of the Muslim peoples towards political emancipation and regrouping of forces on the one hand and towards religious social cultural and economic reconstruction on the other will increasingly exert its influence upon international relationships

As Islam occupies an important and unique place not only in the East but also between East and West public opinion among Western peoples should have a better and unprejudiced knowledge of Islam and the Muslims Furthermore I believe that the great Powers can find no better policy towards Islam than that of initiating and developing a new and more friendly approach to the Muslim nations and a sympathetic

comprehension with their legitimate aspirations. And for such a policy to be successful it should be translated into practical facts. It is easy to grasp how helpful this can be towards world peace and stability.

During the years which have elapsed since the publication of the first edition, and particularly since the beginning of the World War II, the march of events the whole world over, has been so rapid that a thorough revision of this book has become necessary. Considerable portions have been rewritten and new material added. The section dealing with the present development of the Muslim countries has been enlarged and brought up to date.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude and profound thanks to my publisher, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore (India), for his continued encouragement and courtesy extended to me during the preparation and publication of this work.

Geneva, Switzerland

December, 1946

ZAKI ALI

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PART I

CHAPTER I

MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET OF ISLAM

THE birth of Islam was a decisive landmark in world history. In the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era, the world was standing on the brink of darkness and there was no light to take its place. Ancient religious ideals were decadent, the last glimmer of ancient cultures was about to be extinguished and civilization was on the point of destruction.

But in the seventh century the course of history was violently and unexpectedly changed by the Arabs. They were the people among whom there rose up a man who proclaimed a divine message, destined to unite the human races from East to West in the unity of God who gave the world a new social order and who laid the foundations of a new civilization. This man was Muhammad the Founder of Islam.

Based throughout upon well authenticated facts his life-history has been preserved intact even to its minutest details.

In order to understand the religion of Islam, an account of the life of its Prophet is essential.

Muhammad was born in 571 A.D. at Mecca. He was the son of Abdullah, of the family of Hashim, and of Amina, of the family of Zuhra both of the

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honourable and powerful tribe of Quraish. His father died shortly after, leaving no other inheritance than five camels, a few sheep and a female slave. His mother died, when he was six years old, and thus orphaned, he came under the guardianship of his grandfather, Abdul Muttalib who also died two years later. Muhammad was then left to the care of his uncle Abu Talib, who remained his kind friend and protector, as long as he lived.

During his youth, he accompanied his uncle with caravans of merchandise to Syria, helping him in trade. Sometimes he tended sheep and goats also. He could neither read nor write, but he developed wonderful mental faculties, and his surname *al-Amin* (the trusted) indicates the high esteem in which he was held for his integrity and good judgment. When twenty-five years old, he was employed by a rich widow, Khadija, also of the tribe of Quraish, to accompany her trading caravans to the fairs in Syria. Muhammad conducted Khadija's business with great success, and shortly after his return, she offered to marry him. She was fifteen years his senior. With the consent of his uncle, Muhammad accepted the offer and married her. The marriage was happy until Khadija's death at the age of sixty-five. She bore him two sons and four daughters, but both his sons died young. Fatima, his youngest daughter was the only one who survived the Prophet by six months. She was married to the Prophet's cousin, Ali, son of Abu Talib.

Thoughtful beyond his years much given to meditation, and endowed with a keen mind and delicate tastes, Muhammad kept himself singularly pure in a society where purity meant nothing. For it was an Arab community in which the most abominable practices prevailed: idol worship¹, corruption, murder, theft, adultery, unlimited polygamy, cruelty to women, oppression of the poor, usury, gambling, drunkenness, female infanticide, blood feud, in fact chaos and anarchy. There was no regular government in Mecca, no laws that could be enforced, no courts of justice and no public treasury. Such was the condition of affairs in pre-Islamic Arabia, when the years of the Arabian dark ages (*Jāhiliyyah*)² were approaching their end. Muhammad regarded with abhorrence this state of the community and often sought the solitude of the cave of Hira, near Mecca for prayer and deep contemplation. He believed that only a surrender of self to the one and only God (Allah), the abandoning of idolatry, the encouraging of one another to patience and well-doing and the acting justly and mercifully, would make it possible to lead a righteous life.

Meanwhile he was widely respected for his probity, kindness, geniality, practical wisdom and

1 There were some 360 idols in the great temple of al-Jabal.

2 Commonly known as the "times of ignorance" but the erudite Egyptian scholar Ahmad Amin in his *Fajr-ul-Islam* (Dawn of Islam) Cairo, 1933 (Arabic) p. 84 does not maintain the literary meaning of the word. It rather denotes ignorance, orientation and contention which were prevalent among the Arabs before Islam. In contradistinction to modesty, pious resignation conducive to peace and the advantage of good deeds over the nobility of pedigree these being distinctive features in the ethics of Islam.

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modesty. His personality was beautiful and majestic, his expression pensive and thoughtful, his appearance full of vitality and dignity, and his face full of intelligence.

In his fortieth year Muhammad received his first revelation. Once when in the cave of Hira, as was his custom, after fasting, prayer and meditation, he heard a mysterious voice saying, "Thou art the Prophet of God." A few days later, as he was passing the night in the cave of Mount Hira, the archangel Gabriel appeared to him. "Read!" said the angel. "I know not how to read!" replied Muhammad. "Read!" repeated the angel; and immediately, he was illumined with divine light and understanding, and the first revelation occurred to him.

"Read in the name of thy Lord . . ."

Frightened, but self-possessed, Muhammad walked back home and told the particulars of that interview to his beloved and faithful wife who encouraged him and became convinced that the truth about God and the world was being revealed to Muhammad. The revelations then ceased for forty days after which time they began again. Muhammad was commanded to deliver the divine message of the Unity of God and to undertake the reformation of the world¹. He

¹ He used to dictate his revelations to his disciples, who wrote them down, at once, on the first thing that came to hand, whether it was a palm leaf or a tablet of smooth white stone or a shoulder-blade of a sheep, or scrap of parchment. These records were carefully preserved in a box by one of the Prophet's wives. The entire collection of revelations constituted the Quran.

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began by preaching the new Faith, Islam, to his nearest relatives and friends His wife Khadija was the first person to embrace Islam while the other early converts were his cousin Ali who was then a youth his intimate friend Abu Bakr, and his faithful servant Zaid "What is very striking in the religious career of Muhammad remarks Edouard Montet, "at the beginning of his activity is that the first converts he made were among the members of his own family and relatives I believe that he is the only founder of a religion who had the privilege of gaining to his cause those nearest to him either through blood or through close connection

For three years the Prophet preached the new Faith secretly winning some adherents in his family, among his private friends and among the humbler classes in Mecca Meetings were held in a secluded house where Muhammad instructed all the early Muslims in the doctrines of Islam Even here they were discovered and attacked by a rabble The Prophet had much to contend with in these early days, there was a general outburst of scorn when he preached Many members of his tribe were against him and Abu Lahab his uncle a rich and influential man became one of his most inveterate foes

In answer to one of his revelations Muhammad now began to preach Islam publicly, he boldly and fearlessly announced his divine command to impart the revelations received from God The new religion had to come out into the open as the declared foe of

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polytheism. Opposition by the Quraish and other people of Mecca began, as already stated, with scorn, the Prophet being called a soothsayer, a magician, even a lunatic. Gradually, however, as the number of his adherents increased including Hamza, his uncle, and Omar, a young Quraishite, endowed with phenomenal courage and vitality his opponents rose against him and became fiercely hostile. For ten years he and his followers suffered terrible persecution. But Muhammad did not attempt to ingratiate himself into the affections of the Meccans. The heads of families took counsel together, went to Abu Talib, Muhammad's uncle, and declared that there would be war. Abu Talib adjured the Prophet not to ruin his family, and hinted that his protection might be withdrawn. But Muhammad declared that if the sun went down on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not swerve from the work which God had given him to do. Abu Talib, finding him inflexible, assured him that his protection should never be withdrawn.

Every Meccan family agreed to punish its own Muslims. On the Prophet's counsel, some of his followers took refuge in Abyssinia, in the fifth year of Muhammad's mission, but came back after three months. Later, in the seventh year of the Prophet's mission, a considerable number of Muslims emigrated to Abyssinia, where they were kindly received by the Negus. The unbelieving Meccans sent a deputation to the Negus demanding extradition of the fugitives,

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but to frustrate their efforts Muhammad sent his cousin Jafar armed with an exposition of the Islamic doctrines The Abyssinian king and his ecclesiastic advisers on hearing the Quran, took the side of the Muslims The Meccan leaders were roused to fury by this victory, and blockaded the Prophet and his followers in the quarter which they occupied

In the tenth year of his prophetic mission two great sorrows fell upon Muhammad He lost his beloved wife, and about two months later his venerable uncle and protector Abu Talib His perseverance was not, however, shaken nor his faith in his mission, to which he held fast to the end After a preaching journey to Tāif, he returned to Mecca and while he unwearingly preached to the tribes at the fairs he came in touch with some Medinese Arabs whose contact with the Jews at Medina (Yathrib) rendered them more susceptible to religious ideas They became ardent believers and on their return to Medina they spread the news and propagated the teachings of the new Faith Islam took root and bore fruit so that the next pilgrimage from Medina brought twelve and the third more than seventy new followers of Islam, who invited the Prophet to their city

Meanwhile as oppression at Mecca became intolerable, a conspiracy to murder the Prophet was set on foot by the Meccan leaders and Muhammad then recommended to his followers to escape from Mecca to Medina He himself bravely remained in Mecca despite great danger till the last Then he followed them When the

conspirators in Mecca reached the Prophet's dwelling, they found that it was too late: Muhammad had already departed. This emigration, known as Hījra, took place on June 16, 622 A.D. It forms the starting point of the Muslim era. Accompanied by his venerable and most loyal friend Abu Bakr, Muhammad took refuge in a cave on Mount Thaur. And though he was then actively hunted by his foes, he remained calm in danger, and, while in the cave of Thaur he assured Abu Bakr that God was with them. Muhammad and his companion reached Qubā, on the outskirts of Medina, on September 20, 622 A.D. Here they were joined by Alī, the Prophet's devoted cousin. At Medina, the Prophet was received with honour and accepted by the people as their leader. Muhammad's entry into Medina marked the beginning of a continuous external development of Islam which, as a religion as well as a political entity, achieved great success. The Prophet organized the new community of Muslims at Medina (the Ansār or helpers being the Medinese followers, and the Muhājirīn or refugees from Mecca) into one unit in which religion replaced the old Arab tribal idea as a unifying bond, and it was there also that he built the first mosque. Muhammad assisted with his own hands in its building.

The Jews of Medina were conciliated by means of a convention, but the Prophet realized afterwards that they were profoundly hostile, for they broke the agreement and entered into an alliance with his enemies, the Quraish, at Mecca. Thus he had to adopt

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radical measures against them later on

The Meccan unbelievers continued to persecute and provoke the Muslims and hostilities between Mecca and Medina became inevitable. These were started by the Qur'ish and, as a result of their repeated aggressions, waged battles took place generally in the vicinity of Medina. Thus in the second year of the Hijra the battle of Badr (Ramāḍān 2 A.H. = 624 A.D.) was the first encounter of really great moment. Muhammad with some 300 Muslims won a signal victory here over the Meccans numbering about one thousand men who were utterly defeated. This famous battle is one of the outstanding events in Muslim history. Since then the position, prestige and ultimate triumph of Islam over Mecca was assured. It is true that in the following year (3 A.H.) the Muslims suffered defeat at Mount Uhud to the north east of Medina and even the Prophet was wounded but nothing could eclipse the triumph of Badr and the siege of Medina by the Quraish and their allied tribes in the year 5 A.H. (War of the Trench) proved abortive.

In the following year, Muhammad set out at the head of 1,100 Muslims to make a pilgrimage to the Kaaba in the Holy Sanctuary in Mecca, and although the Meccans did not allow this to be carried out, the Prophet gained a still greater advantage by the fact that they concluded a term of peace with him for ten years, known as the Peace of Hudaibiya (6 A.H. = 628 A.D.). This pact showed the extraordinary diplomatic

ability of Muhammad. Despite the dissatisfaction of some of his companions and followers, who did not then realize the advantages gained, he agreed not to add his title of 'Apostle of God' to his signature of the document, when it stood in the way of its ratification by the Meccans. But, on the other hand, he knew how to wrest from his negotiators what he had set his heart upon and thus he treated Mecca on equal terms and in the capacity of the head of a State. Islam gained thereby in prestige, for, in accordance with the terms, unarmed Muslims from Medina were allowed to perform a pilgrimage in the following year; and, furthermore, Quraishite fugitives in Medina, even if Muslims, were to be extradited, but whereas Medinese fugitives in Mecca were not turned over, the result was that freer intercourse between Muslims and unbelievers took place. Islam thus won over new adherents among the Quraishites, the most remarkable of these being Khalid ibn al-Walid and Amr ibn al-Âs, the future celebrated generals of Islam. Not only that, but the carrying out of the pilgrimage generally impressed the population of Mecca with the idea that Islam was winning.

In the eighth year of the Hijra, Muhammad marched at the head of a large army to conquer Mecca which surrendered without resistance. His inveterate opponent Abu Sufyân, head of the Quraish, became a Muslim and the whole population did the same. The idols of the Ka'aba were all destroyed and the call to prayer and 'Allah Akbar' were sounded from all

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around the Kaaba The Prophet showed great forbearance towards his enemies by proclaiming a general amnesty and the conquest of Mecca determined his eventual supremacy over the whole of Arabia¹

The Prophet sent missions to all known sovereigns and potentates (Heraclius, Chosroes II the Negus of Abyssinia al-Mukaukas (head of the Copts) of Egypt and the chiefs of several Arabian provinces) calling upon them to embrace the Faith of Islam On the other hand embassies poured in from different parts of the Peninsula bringing the submission and allegiance of the various tribes to the Prophet thus that now Islam and its dominions extended farther and farther every day

In the tenth year of the Hijra Muhammad deter-

1 In narrating the events of the conquest of Mecca Arthur Gilman writes It is greatly to his (Muhammad's) praise that on this occasion when his resentment for ill usage in the past might naturally have incited him to revenge he restrained his army from all shedding of blood and showed every sign of humility and thanksgiving to Allah for his goodness Ten or twelve men who had on a former occasion shown a barbarous spirit were proscribed and of them four were put to death but this must be considered exceedingly humane in comparison with the acts of other conquerors in comparison for example with the cruelty of the Crusaders who in 1099 put seventy thousand Muslims men women and helpless children to death when Jerusalem fell into their hands or with that of the English army also fighting under the cross which in the year of grace 1874 burned an African capital in its war on the Gold Coast Muhammad's victory was in very truth one of religion and not of politics he rejected every token of personal homage and declined all regal authority and when the haughty chiefs of the Qurashites appeared before him he asked

What can you expect at my hands?

Mercy O generous brother

Be it so you are free! he exclaimed

—*The Saracens* (London 1837) pp 184-85

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mined to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and carry out all its holy rites. Many thousands of Muslims congregated from all parts of Arabia to accompany the Prophet upon this his last pilgrimage, which became known as the 'Valedictory Pilgrimage'. He preached to a large throng of Muslims, estimated at about 140,000, exhorting the faithful to piety and righteousness, to abstinence from sin, to the protection of the weak, the poor and the women, and he taught them the last lessons of Islam. Muhammad's mission was now fulfilled.

Soon after his return to Medina, he was taken ill with fever, and died on the twelfth day of the third month, Rabi' I, of the year 11 of the Hijra (8th June, 632 A.D.). He was buried in the house of Ayesha, his wife, where he died.¹

Out of the ocean of oblivion, Arabia emerged into history as a civilized nation with a sublime faith of truth and peace, thus able to raise itself above the contemporary peoples of the earth and all this through Muhammad only.

"He appeared", says Daumei, "not as a son of Allah, but only as His Prophet, he declared loudly

¹ For recent biographies of the Prophet, see Mohammad Hussain Haikal *Hayat Muhammad* (The Life of Muhammad), Cairo, 1935 (Arabic), Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, *Mohammad The Prophet*, London, 1932, Mohammad A. Gad al-Mawlā, *Muhammad al-Mathal al-Kamil* (Muhammad the Perfect Model), Cairo, 1931 (Arabic), Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar *Muhammad The Holy Prophet* Lahore, 1937, Emile Dermenghem, *La Vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1932, F. Dinet, *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophete d'Allah*, Paris, 1937, Raymond Lerouge, *Vie de Mahomet*, Paris, 1939, Paul Achard, *Mahomet*, Paris, 1942, Jean Barois, *Mahomet* Paris, 1943, also consult Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam, with a life of the Prophet*, rev. ed. London, 1922.

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that he was a man like his fellow men and only had a mission from God. Animated by this idea he acted and united in himself great and noble qualities. Illuminated by the divine light endowed with an inflexible will power and an ardent spirit tempered by compassion charity and tenderness, he undertook the difficult mission and the stupendous struggles connected with it and he did not rest until he had attained what he wanted until Arabia professed his Faith.

His behaviour became now the standard for his people also after his death. Inexorable against his enemies as long as they opposed him, yet he did not know the spirit of revenge he was gentle towards the vanquished indulgent and tolerant to all unbelievers and even when, in spreading his doctrine he was compelled by the circumstances to use the sword the conquered were by no means forced to accept his faith and later in the Muslim States the unbelievers had only a small tax imposed upon them.¹

Another Western biographer of the Prophet wrote two centuries ago: 'Mahomed established his religious system in a manner not only suitable to the sentiments of his compatriots to their understanding and to the dominating customs of their country but beyond this, so proportioned to the common ideas of mankind that he converted more than one half of all human beings to his opinions and all this in less than forty years. Thus it seemed that it was sufficient

¹ *Mahomed und sein Werk* p. 267

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to cause the doctrine to be heard to, thereby subject the minds to it.”¹

And a judicious English writer² speaks of the Prophet in these terms : “ Even today, with all the details of his early life and subsequent career laid bare by men of our own race, who have studied the whole extraordinary story of the noble Arabian, it is no easy matter to comprehend the character, or to account for the marvellous success of Mohammed in the early part of the seventh century. Never claiming divine powers at any period of his mission, this very human prophet of God made his first converts in his own aristocratic gens (people) and had such remarkable personal influence over all with whom he was brought into contact that, neither when a poverty-stricken and hunted fugitive, nor at the height of his prosperity, did he ever have to complain of treachery from those who had once embraced his Faith. His confidence in himself, and in his inspiration from on high, was ever greater when he was suffering under disappointment and defeat than when he was able to dictate his own terms to his conquered enemies. Mohammed died as he had lived, surrounded by his early followers, friends and votaries: his death as devoid of mystery as his life of disguise.”

Quite recently, another English critic³, wrote : “ The ignorance displayed by most Christians regard-

1 Le Comte de Boulainvilliers, *La Vie de Mahomed*, Amsterdam, 1731, pp 143-44

2 H M Hyndman, *The Awakening of Asia* p 9

3 G Lindsay Johnson, F R C S in *The Two Worlds*, August, 9, 1940.

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ing the Muslim religion is appalling. They overlook the fact that a religion which is accepted and followed by a sixth of the human race must have a great deal of good in it and be built on very sound foundations, for, it is absurd to suppose that it should form the conduct of such a multitude of people and have no solid foundations on which to rest. Mohammed alone, among the nations at that time believed in one God to the exclusion of all others. He insisted on righteousness as the source of conduct, of filial duty, and of frequent prayers to the Ever-living God, and of respect to all other peoples, and of justice and mercy to all. He believed in total abstinence from intoxicants and in moderation in all things, and to hold in great respect learning of every kind. Most of the absurdities which Christians would have us believe to exist in the Quran were never uttered by Mohammed himself nor are they to be found in a correct translation of the work.

Lamartine, one of the greatest poets of the nineteenth century expressed his views about Muhammad thus ¹. Never has a man set for himself, voluntarily or involuntarily, a more sublime aim since this aim was superhuman to subvert superstitions which had been interposed between man and his Creator, to render God unto man and man unto God, to restore the rational and sacred idea of divinity amidst the chaos of the material and disfigured gods of idolatry, then existing. Never has a man undertaken a

¹ *Histoire de la Turquie* Vol II pp 276 77 Paris 1854

work so far beyond human power with so feeble means, for he had in the conception as well as in the execution of such a great design no other instrument than himself, and no other aid, except a handful of men living in a corner of the desert. Finally, never has a man accomplished such a huge and lasting revolution in the world, because in less than two centuries after its appearance, Islam, in faith and in arms, reigned over the whole of Arabia, and conquered, in God's name, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxania, Western India, Syria, Egypt, Abyssinia, all the known continent of Northern Africa, numerous islands of the Mediterranean, Spain, and a part of Gaul.

"If greatness of purpose, smallness of means, and astounding results are the three criteria of human genius, who could dare to compare any great man in modern history to Muhammad? The most famous men created arms, laws, and empires only. They founded, if anything at all, no more than material powers which often crumbled away before their eyes. This man moved not only armies, legislations, empires, peoples, and dynasties, but millions of men in one-third of the then inhabited world; and more than that, he moved the altars, the gods, the religions, the ideas, the beliefs and the souls. On the basis of a Book, every letter of which has become Law, he created a spiritual nationality which blended together peoples of every tongue and of every race. He has left us as the indelible characteristic of this Muslim nationality, the hatred of false gods and the passion

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for the One and Immaterial God This avenging patriotism against the profanation of Heaven formed the virtue of the followers of Muhammad, the conquest of one third of the earth to his dogma was his miracle, or rather it was not the miracle of a man but that of reason The idea of the unity of God proclaimed amidst the exhaustion of fabulous theogenies, was in itself such a miracle that upon its utterance from his lips, it destroyed all the ancient temples of idols and set on fire one third of the world His life his meditations his heroic revilings against the superstitions of his country, and his boldness in defying the furies of idolatry his firmness in enduring them for fifteen years at Mecca his acceptance of the role of public scorn and almost of being a victim of his fellow countrymen all those and, finally, his flight, his incessant preaching, his wars against odds, his faith in his success and his superhuman security in misfortune, his forbearance in victory, his ambition which was entirely devoted to one idea and in no manner striving for an empire, his endless prayers, his mystic conversations with God, his death and his triumph after death all these attest, not to an imposture but to a firm conviction It was this conviction which gave him the power to restore a dogma This dogma was twofold the unity of God and the immateriality of God the former telling what God is, the latter telling what God is not, the one overthrowing false gods with the sword, the other starting an idea with words

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“Philosopher, orator, apostle, legislator, warrior, conqueror of ideas, restorer of rational dogmas, of a cult without images, the founder of twenty terrestrial empires and of one spiritual empire, that is Muhammad. As regards all standards by which human greatness may be measured, we may well ask; is there any man greater than he?”

As a fact, Muhammad is the great man, without whom the world would appear incomplete. He was such a man, because he initiated and brought to fulfilment spiritual forces that would never have come to birth without him. The extraordinary vitality of these forces prove even today positively that the founder of Islam belongs to the past and to the future, and to both so completely that they cannot be distinguished from the present. Before the appearance of the Prophet the world was crying out for a religion that would satisfy its needs. These needs of humanity have been completely and concretely met by the fulfilment of Muhammad's universal mission.

CHAPTER II

THE ISLAMIC SOCIAL ORDER

AN absolute monotheism a divine universal message revealed by Allah the one and only God to Muhammad the last of His Prophets and Messengers to mankind, five cardinal obligations the confession of Faith there is no god but God Muhammad is the Apostle of God', ritual prayers, a regular charity (zakaat) fasting during Ramadan¹ and pilgrimage to Mecca, a belief in God (Allah), in His Angels in His Books in His Apostles in future life and resurrection, submission to the will of God a striving after righteousness, a dogma which is simple and rational, a creed which is practical and free of mysteries and ambiguities a Faith which is natural and enlightened, a supreme ideal of Unity—these are the fundamentals of Islam as a religion

A fraternity which knows no distinction of race, colour or class, a practical spiritual democracy having the vindication of the rights of man and of the freedom of conscience an obligation to seek knowledge a pious and simple life, characterized by the direct and permanent influence of religion and of a pure morality self discipline modesty mercy, charity, contentment, and trust in good works rather than in the gifts of fortune effectiveness in common action and

¹ Al BalJawz Commentary

straightforward thinking, hospitality and total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, a natural respect for marriage and for family life, a rejection of monasticism; a spirit of impartial justice and of goodwill, a large-minded tolerance and mutual enlightenment these are the distinctive features of Islam as a social order.

A book which is the standing miracle of Muhammad, an inimitable and insuperable work of God, 'an incomparable book which yields to no abrogation nor distortion, and into which no falsehood could find a way from any side whatsoever, be it of the past or of things to come, mentioned therein; a missive from the Wise Lord to whom praise is due for the bounties He bestows upon mankind'¹, a book which contains the principles of the general code of Islam, a book which exercises a persistent and immeasurable influence upon the minds of the Faithful and to which, if they steadily adhere, they can never be led astray, a book which contains nothing contrary to reason and which encourages genuine striving after progress, a book which is Allah's uncreated Word in the sense that in its actual form, in its Arabic language, it is identical and co-eternal with its celestial origin this is the Holy Quran, the Sacred Book of Islam

Islam established truth as the basic element of the whole of existence, and made the conception of unity the essence of its religious system. "It stipu-

¹ *Al-Baidawy's Commentary.*

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lated freedom of conscience urged its followers to reflection and contemplation, encouraged the study of nature and enjoined the search after knowledge. It condemned blind imitation and proclaimed the common original source of religion. It exalted reason and called for a universal unity of man.

The Islamic religion is simple in its ritual and effective in its piety. It is committed to learning as well as it is committed to the humanities. The religious duties incumbent on every Muslim teach him an earnest and noble life. The ritual prayer five times a day is a means of purification of the heart and elevation of the soul. It restrains man from committing sin. All the gestures and all the attitudes of a Muslim during prayer demonstrate the humility of man before God, it is for this reason that he prostrates himself. These five obligatory prayers per day are essential that man may remember God and also carry through his spiritual education. This prayer should absorb the whole activity of the believer and its practice is one of the best means to arrive at a contemplative life. It strengthens the bonds which unite the believer to his brethren, who are all bowing down before God with identical and simultaneous motions. The believers placed in parallel rows, must, during the prayers, keep their eyes concentrated upon one direction only, that of Mecca, the cradle of their common faith.

1 Mohammed Farid Wajdi, *al Islam Din Ām Khālid* (Islam a universal and eternal religion) Arabic, p. 162.

As to fasting during Ramadan, what could be more effective for self-purification than to be accustomed to endure privation and to practise abstemiousness? This fasting during the whole month includes a total abstinence from nourishment, from drinking, from tobacco and from conjugal relations. It lasts from that early moment of dawn, when a dim light is perceived on the Eastern horizon from till sunset. But it is not only from that, that the fasting Muslim must deprive himself. He must abstain from all falsehood, from all calumny, all perjury, all evil talk, abuse and false oaths, the heart must be protected from all uncleanness, while the body is deprived of all nourishment. Thus, the external practice must provide a spiritual value. Submitted to a total abstinence a rich man appreciates the sufferings of the hungry, and he learns to provide for the wants of the needy.

Individual alms-giving is one of the pious actions most earnestly recommended and is widely practised. But Islam instituted a collective and obligatory alms-giving (*zakât*), also to aid the needy, the widows, and the orphans, to help education and to cover the expenses of all charitable institutions. This strict alms-giving is obligatory and is destined, according to the spirit of Islam, to create an equalization fund of human relations for the advantage of the disinherited classes. Islam has thus made of the works of public assistance one of the essential functions of the State. By prescribing regular alms-giving, and by

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collecting a certain fixed percentage from the fortunes of the rich, it has endeavoured to establish a fair equilibrium between the social classes and to arrive at an aid for the disinherited. The sentiments of human equality, solidarity and fraternity demonstrate themselves with the Muslim by a generous benevolence.

As regards the pilgrimage to Mecca which every Muslim is obliged to accomplish at least once during his life, provided he is able to afford it, it draws the believer away from national and regional surroundings where he is only too much tempted to limit his affections and to unite him with his co-religionists in the whole world in the communion of the same belief. He visits the sacred place where the Faith was proclaimed. The benefits of pilgrimage surpass those of international congresses, as the pilgrimage places the believer in that atmosphere of universal fraternity and equality which is characteristic of the spirit of his religion. Thus the pilgrim casts away the narrowness of his views, frees himself from his personal limitations and restores himself to that *'fatherland of the souls'* with no other frontiers than those of truth and justice. What an imposing and inspiring manifestation of Islamic cohesion and unity and what an efficacious means of intensification of moral and spiritual solidarity!

Here are the words of a well-informed writer: 'Let us then look on the pilgrimage in its true aspect. It is essentially a spiritual exercise, a profoundly moving experience. At Mecca, in the pilgrimage

season, all are dressed alike ; all are equal, not only in the sight of God, as they eternally are, but also, for the time, in the sight of man. At Mecca, they drink deep of the wells of history, and of truth as vouchsafed to the Prophet Muhammad. It matters not whence the pilgrims may come — it may be from Abyssinia or Nigeria, or from Malaya or Chinese Turkestan, or from India and the countries that are the heart of Islam — all are brothers, intent on the one purpose. No other faith can boast a comparable demonstration of unity. Minor differences — and all differences which affect race, language, politics and so on are minor differences when put beside the bond of true religion — are sunk, and uppermost in the minds and hearts of all is the unifying humility of resignation to the will of Allah ” (Kenneth Williams in *Great Britain and the East*, November 6, 1941.)

The Muslim lives simply and serenely, and his religious attitude towards life bids him to be at peace with himself and with the world in which he lives. He shows “owing to his religious surrender to the will of God, an exemplary patience under misfortune, and he bears up under disastrous accidents with an admirable strength of mind. Most pleasing also is the dignity which the Muslim develops through his religion, his attitude is one of noble religious pride which is never transformed into vanity.”¹

In his recent biography of the Prophet, Raymond Lerouge² says : “ He (the founder of Islam) is, in fact,

1. Friedrich Delitzsch *Die Welt des Islam*, p. 28

2. *Vie de Mahomet*, *op cit*, pp. 18-19.

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the promoter of the first social and international revolution of which history gives mention. He lays the foundations of a state which is to spread over the whole world and to observe no other laws than those of justice and of charity. He preaches the equality of all men and the duty of mutual aid and of universal fraternity.

Owing to the absolute social equality which Islam introduced there is no caste in the Muslim society, which may possess by heredity, authority or nobility with privileges. Islam has no clergy, nor church organization and the office of priesthood is rejected altogether. Any Muslim suffices to conduct the ritual and none is invested with a sacred character. The theologians are merely those who are well versed in the Divine Law; they do not compose a clerical caste.

It is characteristic of Islam as a doctrine, that it maintains a beautiful harmony between religion and life, it synthesizes the practical with the ideal and satisfies equally the material as well as the spiritual claims of man. It inculcates neither the exclusiveness of Judaism nor does it set up, like Christianity, an ideal impossible of attainment by man in this world. The system of Islamic ethics constitutes an incalculably precious inheritance not only of Islam, but of the world at large. These ethics provide a rule of action which represents a high but yet perfectly attainable ideal the spread of which is a sure means of saving an ever increasing number of human beings from moral

and physical degradation. A great and incomparable merit of Islamic ethics is that their conception of preparation for the next world does not exclude the notion of happiness in the shape of material welfare in the present, where, however evanescent individual life may be, the species is meant to endure, and again that the measure of righteousness demanded of man does not exact an abnormal or superhuman capacity. Islamic ethics thus make allowance for the basic and natural tendencies which prevail in humanity. Instead of seeking to suppress these tendencies, which may succeed in the case of an infinitesimal minority of abnormally constituted or endowed individuals, who have been born with a vocation for self-sacrifice, but which must fail in the case of the overwhelming majority, they successfully strive to moderate and regulate them. In practice, the dominant note in Islamic ethics is precisely this sense of moderation and equipoise. Thus, to take two instances in that part of the code which governs the relations between man and man. Charity is exalted as a very high virtue, but it is prescribed in a measure that does not produce a sense of privation. Self-restraint is highly recommended in dealing with offences, but in spirit and not in action, by which is meant that the individual must not allow vindictiveness to take possession of him, but content himself with retaliation in the just measure of the offence, retaliation being considered necessary in the interests of the community. Says the Quran. "In the Law of Equality

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there is (saving of) Life to you O ye men of understanding that ye may restrain yourselves¹

Again, as regards the general direction to be given by man to his existence Islamic ethics deny the necessity for monastic renunciation and self abnegation which constitute the essence of Christian ethical teaching. But when they proclaim the legitimacy of that form of happiness which resides in the enjoyment of the religiously permitted (*halāl*) good things of this life they even urge man not to forget them and take care to guard against excessive self indulgence. The ideal they set up of material well being is the *via media*, the pursuit of which does not imply violent competition leading to strife and the possession of which does not produce satiety and demoralization. As a result, there is much greater harmony between doctrine and practice in Islam than in Christianity. In the Christian world the irresistible progress of materialistic civilization, which is a standing challenge to the authority of the Christian doctrine, has led to the development of the natural tendency of man to seek satisfaction in self-indulgence which has thus assumed the character and proportions of an all devouring passion, a passion curiously enough more marked precisely in those parts of Christendom which were subjected at one time or other of their history to the tyrannical restraints and repressions of puritanism. This is certainly more than a coincid-

1 S II 179 A Yusuf Ali's Translation of the Holy Quran. Subsequent quotations from the Quran are reproduced from this Translation.

ence, and bears evidence to the well-known fact that violence exercised on the individual in a sense that runs counter to human nature only provokes reaction in the opposite direction

Owing to the prevailing misconceptions in the West, a distorted social picture of Islam is inculcated in foreign minds in the form of polygamy, divorce, fatalism, seclusion and inferior position of women, slavery, and holy war against the infidel, etc. Hence it is of prime importance to learn that these traits are neither features nor institutions sanctioned by Islam.

The seclusion of women is not a Quranic precept ; it was an acquisition from Byzantine quarters. The custom of wearing a veil by women was originally also a foreign one imported from outside. Considering the prevailing practices and position of women in society before the advent of Islam, not only in Arabia but in other countries too, Islam is at once recognized to have emancipated woman and raised her social status to a remarkable extent. For, even in historic Christendom, woman was considered for centuries as an inferior being as taught through the mouthpiece of Paul and the early Church Fathers ; their writings were filled with denunciations of women. With the advent of Islam, women became more honoured and better treated than ever before. Lady Evelyn Cobbold writes in her *Pilgrimage to Mecca* that it was "Islam that removed the bondage in which women were held from the very dawn of human history, and gave them a social standing and legal rights, such as

plural marriage as tolerated by Islam that the marriages contracted by the Prophet after the death of his first wife, Khadija, were all dictated by most honourable motives moral and political.

But the question must be posed: Why should western critics hold up their hands in horror at polygamy and persistently reproach Islam for allowing it? Was not the unlimited concubinage of Christian priests and of the nobility throughout the Middle Ages simply polygamy? Had not the Jews of Europe, according to the Jewish philosopher Maimonides, a plurality of wives as late as the thirteenth century? Is not any western man who keeps mistresses in this modern age a real and actual polygamist?

F H. Norton, of the American Bureau of Literary References, tells us that polygamy seems not to have been entirely eradicated among the Christians of the sixth century, as we find it then enacted in the canons of one of their councils that if anyone is married to many wives he shall do penance. Even the clergy themselves, during this period, practised bigamy, as we find it ordained at another council, held at Narbonne, that such clergymen as were bigamists should only be presbyters and deacons. In the eighth century, Charlemagne had two wives. But we even find an instance of bigamy and polygamy as late as the sixteenth century. Philip, a German prince of Hesse Cassel, obtained permission from Luther and a Synod of the Reformers, to marry a second wife.

John of Leyden, the leader of the Anabaptists at

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Munster in Germany, in 1533, also announced his right to marry as many wives as he wished, like the kings of Israel. He married seventeen. And most of the kings in Europe in those ages were nothing but polygamists in spite of their devotion to the Christian religion.

Recently J. E. Clure McFarlane wrote in his book *The Case for Polygamy, or the Case against the system of monogamous marriage* 1931. The law of the State based upon the dogma of the Church, which makes it a criminal offence for a man to marry more than one wife by that same provision makes it illegal for millions of women to have husbands or to bear children. It is untrue that monogamy was advocated by Jesus Christ. Whatever the question is considered socially, ethically or religiously, it can be demonstrated that polygamy is not contrary to the highest standards of civilization. The suggestion offers a practical remedy for the western problem of the destitute and unwanted female, the alternative is continued and increased prostitution, concubinage and distressing spinsterhood. This critic points out the limited utility of monogamy, the falling birthrate, the increase of divorce and the unsuitability of the monogamous state to a large section of the community.

In this connection, an unbiased scrutiny of the present post-war social conditions in the western countries leaves no doubt that monogamy, as the only legal system of marriage in Christian countries, offers no practical solution of the marriage problem.

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Western sociologists may study the social conditions which have arisen from war—severe reduction of the male population, promiscuity, prevalent laxity of sexual morals, "fraternization," concupiscence and still consider monogamy as the only legitimate form of marriage. We prefer to reserve our judgment.

As for slavery, it should be remembered that it had existed as a constant factor in the social life of the East and Europe throughout the entire period of ancient history. To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. No attempt to abolish it was made by ancient government or religious body.

Slavery was thus an established institution when Islam appeared. Far from encouraging it, Islam provided in every feasible way for its abolition. Its insistence that all men, without distinction of race or colour, are equal in the sight of God, was among the first principles of human freedom to take root in any country, and manumission of slaves was a natural consequence. Owing to the fact that slavery was a recognized institution for centuries, it could not be eradicated entirely in the Prophet's own time. Islam, however, made the emancipation of slaves a pious and highly commendable act, and enjoined kind and humane treatment of slaves; for, as Muslims, slave and master stood on equal footing. P. L. Rivière¹ writes about the Law of Islam, pointing out that: "After the emancipation of the heathen slave share the

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1883.

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bounties he receives from God He (the Prophet) recommended to set free slaves who demand it, and he himself gave the example in setting free all his slaves shortly before his death It must be recognized that, in this respect the Islamic teaching acknowledged such a respect for human personality and showed a sense of equality which is searched for in vain in ancient civilizations Slaves could be permitted to purchase their freedom by an accumulation of their wages, and the atonement of certain sins was proclaimed to be the freeing of slaves Fugitive slaves on reaching Islamic territory were granted their liberty The child of a free man and a slave woman (as his wife) was born free, while his mother regained her liberty on the death of her husband The amount of work also which a slave might perform was carefully graded and slaves were never addressed as such but as 'young man or young woman' they furthermore, had a stable situation in the family A slave could be freed by will even a clearly expressed verbal will Captives taken in war were held in bondage until ransomed, but slave-hunting and slave dealing were utterly condemned The practice which the eunuch represents is not Islamic in any sense Islamic history is full of illustrations of the manner in which slaves might rise to the highest positions of trust or government. For instance the slave Kafoor ruled Egypt, and Qutbeddin, a King of Delhi, was a slave

Christianity did not abolish slavery Slavery continued to exist in every Christian country through

out the Middle Ages and the Church made no attempt to abolish it. Indeed it did not free its own slaves. Women slaves were sold cheap in Rome after the fall of Capua in 1501. It was only in the eighteenth century that a collective movement for the suppression of the slave-trade arose, and in the nineteenth century the struggle was extended to the suppression of slavery.

Fatalism is not a Quranic injunction, in the sense given to it generally in the West. This prevalent misconception among the western peoples may be traced back to the period of decline of the political power of Islam. Peoples, sodden at that time in a state of intense apathy and inertia, seemed to submit to all that happened as inevitable. This social phenomenon which was so widely observed among the masses during the political decadence of Islam, that it assumed historic importance, became wrongly and persistently considered in the West as forming part of the Islamic doctrines.

The oft-repeated allegation by many Western critics that Islam was propagated by the might of the sword is also absolutely false and unfounded "History makes it clear that the legend of fanatical Muslims sweeping through the world and forcing Islam at the point of the sword upon conquered races, is one of the most fantastically absurd myths that historians have ever repeated" ¹

1. De Lacy O'Leary *Islam at the Crossroads*, p 8

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The Jihād or religious warfare (Arabic word which literally means striving effort) is indicated only under definite circumstances when Muslims are persecuted or turned out of their homes because of their beliefs and mode of worship, furthermore, when any nation first attacks the Muslim territory and violates the sanctity of their home and hearth or when rebels attack or conspire to expel the Muslims from their country. Says O Houdar² 'The Jihād was not in fact obligatory except against peoples who had no revealed religion or who menaced the existence of Islam. Thus the Quran states And fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you, but commit not the injustice of attacking them first, verily God loveth not the unjust (S II 190). And again it says God doth not forbid you to be charitable and to deal justly with those who have not waged war against you on account of your religion and have not driven you out of your homes. Verily God loveth the just but God forbiddeth you to be associates of those who waged war against you on account of your religion and drove you out of your homes and aided in driving you out, and whosoever became associates with them are wrong doers. Jihād had to be waged to defend Islam against aggressions and to convert idolaters. Once the war was terminated the Muslims always displayed a great tolerance towards the conquered peoples, leaving them their legislation and religious beliefs.

² La Grande Encyclopaedie 1894 Tome 20 p 1006.

A great modern Muslim authority affirmed that "a universal social reform could be established by means of eight specific unities all of which are realizable in the Islamic system. These are the unity of the *Ummah* or community, of mankind, of religious unity, legislative unity by impartial justice, unity of spiritual brotherhood, unity of jurisdiction, of language and of international policy."¹

The Islamic social order is neither rigid nor static, and its focus of effort is the betterment and ennoblement of human life and character on this earth.

¹ Muhammad Rashid Rida *al-Wah'y al-Muhammadi* (Muhammadan Revelation), Arabic, p 188, Cairo, 1933

CHAPTER III

THE QURAN AND THE ISLAMIC LAW

THE Quran is the fountain head of all Islamic teachings and the basis of the whole religious and social life of the Muslims. All Muslims admit without question the miracle of the *Ijāz* i.e. the insuperability of the Quran. 'Say 'If the whole of mankind and of Jinns were to gather together to produce the like of this Quran, they could not produce the like, thereof, even if they backed up each other with help and support'.¹ As we have said in the preceding chapter the Quran contains the Divine revelation which came down to Muhammad by direct inspiration through the archangel Gabriel. The Quran therefore is considered by all Muslims, to be in every respect perfect, to contain no error and to omit no needful truth. According to the Quran the religion of Islam is as wide in its conception as humanity itself. It did not originate from the preaching of the Prophet Muhammad, but had been equally the religion of the Prophets and Apostles of God who came before him—Adam Noah Abraham, Moses Jesus in fact of every messenger of God. Islam is thus considered to be the natural religion of man and the Prophet

¹ S. XVII 88

Muhammad said : " Every child that is born conforms to the true religion ; and it is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian or a Sabian."

The Quran, based on Revelation, has offered a reason and an understanding for the fulfilment of the Divine purpose. " It is here that religion becomes a matter of personal assimilation of life and power , and the individual achieves a free personality, not by releasing himself from the fetters of the law but by discovering the ultimate source of the law within the depths of his own consciousness. As in the words of a Muslim Sufi 'No understanding of the Holy Book is possible until it is actually revealed to the believer just as it was revealed to the Prophet'." ¹

The Quran bears testimony to the supreme value of learning and, correctly interpreted, does not conflict with the findings of science. A number of modern Muslim scholars and commentators of the Quran have successfully shown that the Quranic teachings are corroborated by the established facts of modern science. An increasing number of Muslim scientific investigators are taking up the study of the Quran with this object in view ²

The verses of the Quran are of an equally miraculous eloquence throughout the entire text, and

1 Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his paper, *Is Religion Possible ?* read before the Aristotelian Society, London, on December 5, 1932

2 As an illustration of such works, see Prof Abdul-Aziz Ismail, M.D., *Islam and Modern Medicine* (Arabic , and Mohammad A El-Ghamrawy, *Fi as-Sunan al-Kawniyyah* (Arabic), both published in Cairo

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its inimitable and original style has no precedent in Arabic literature. The Quran, therefore, exercised a most potent influence upon the universality of the Arabic language. God says in the Quran: "And if ye are in doubt as to what We have revealed from time to time to Our servant, then produce a Sura like thereunto, and call your witnesses or helpers (if there are any) besides God: if your (doubts) are true." Thus we find an intimate union of religion and language which continues throughout the ages to be of great originality. Whenever Muhammad was asked for a miracle, remarks Casanova, as a proof of the authenticity of his mission, he quoted the composition of the Quran and its incomparable excellence as a proof of its Divine origin. And, in fact, even for those who are non-Muslims, nothing is more marvellous than its language which has such a plenitude and such a grasping sonority that its mere audition ravished those primitive peoples who were so fond of eloquence.¹ The ampleness of its syllables, its grandiose cadence and its remarkable rhythm have been of much moment in the conversion of the most hostile and the most sceptic.² And the erudite orientalist Ed. Montet notes that "All those who are acquainted with the Quran in Arabic agree in praising the beauty of this religious book: its grandeur of form is so sublime that no translation into any European language can allow us to appreciate it."³

¹ L. Enseignement de l'Arabe au Collège de France. *Léon d'ouville* 1909
April 26 1909

² Traduction Française du CORAN Paris 1929 Introduction p 53

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The unique position of the Arabic language and its universal character have been entirely and solely acquired by its being the language of the Quran and it has therefore become the religious language of the Faithful. No book in the world other than the Quran can be credited with keeping alive a language for fourteen centuries.

It is a remarkable fact that the Arabic language has not deteriorated throughout the whole history of Islam even during the periods of decadence of Islamic civilization and Islamic political power, unlike the deterioration and ultimate death which have been the lot of Latin. Therefore no analogy can be made between Arabic and Latin in regard to their relationship to the dialects spoken by the Arab peoples today and the Roman languages which arose from Latin respectively. For, even today, Arabic in its polished form is the written language in all Arab countries and is often the language of ordinary conversation among the educated classes of society.

We have already emphasized the immeasurable influence of the Quran upon the faithful. It is this veneration for the Quran which has always spurred the development of Arabic linguistic studies such studies having been undertaken in order to preserve the language which has served as a vehicle for the revelation and thereby to preserve that revelation itself. The Muslims have carried on their task with a fervour and a devotion which no other language to our knowledge, has ever won, and which has given us

almost from the beginning, remarkable monuments of Arabic philology and lexicography. Furthermore, in it the great dogmatic development of Islam has been accomplished, it was in Arabic that the first mystics transmitted their intimate experiences, and it was in Arabic that the Hadith, or the collection of the sayings and traditions of the Prophet, has come down to us. Literature itself is full of Muslim religious elements. To know Arabic is to have the means of penetrating more intimately into the real spirit of Islam.”¹

The Quran is the main source of Islamic Law or Shari’ah. It lays down the general rules and establishes the principles, necessary for legislation and formulation of codes, appropriate to the State and to the peoples at any period. Next to it is the Sunnah, i. e., the precepts, precedents and traditions of the Prophet. The sayings or Hadith of Muhammad form a rich corpus of original material. The *Sahih* of al-Bokhari is the 1st example of the classified collection of Traditions and enjoy a reverence only second to that of the Quran.

Besides the editors of tradition, there are also the interpreters. As Hocking remarks. “The remarkable thing about Islam is that, instead of providing for the faithful a single orthodoxy, an officially declared and final interpretation, it offers four orthodoxies¹ among which believers may choose. These four orthodox systems, which mutually recognize and tolerate each other,

1 These four schools of theology are called after their founders the Hanafite, the Shafi’ite, the Malikite, and the Hanbalite

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grew up in the first two centuries of Islam. One of these the Hanbalite school, such as a literal faithfulness to primitive Islam, reviving ancient customs and is characterized by rigour. The other three systems have given to Islamic Law a group of usable principles of interpretation, that is to say principles of growth. Hocking discusses those principles, namely, the *Qiyas* or analogy—a similar case, a similar rule, the *Maslahat* or public good—a principle of deduction which allows room for a modern sociological jurisprudence, and the principle of *Ijma* or agreement (consensus of opinion) of the majority of learned men in theology and jurisprudence. He then says: "I feel justified therefore in my assertion that Islam contains in abundance the necessary principles for its growth. Indeed it may be said that until the middle of the thirteenth century Islam was the vehicle for what ever growth in civilization the western world could boast. And let me note that I am speaking here solely of Islamic Canon Law—its most conservative part. This Canon Law or *Shari'ah* is but a part of the actual law of Muslim lands."

There are no fundamental differences between the four orthodox schools or *Madhāhib*. They all recognize the same principles of Law and differ only in their application, their juridical thinking and the results achieved are practically alike. They recognize each other as of equal authority. The Quran, the Sunnah (Tradition), the *Ijma* and *Qiyas* are recogniz

1 W. E. Hocking *The Spirit of World Politics* pp. 458-61

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ed as the fundamental roots, *Usūl*, of Muslim jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) The great principle of *Ijma*, in the sense of the agreement of the majority of learned men of any period, is a source of progressive development in Islamic Law

Contrary to the misconception of many western observers who consider it to be rigid, fixed and immutable, Islamic Law is capable of developing and expanding on the lines of justice, equity and good conscience It is possessed of a remarkable power of adaptability to different ages and peoples, so that it can keep pace with the forward march of humanity.

In Islam, which endeavours to harmonize opposing forces, we find a source of growth as well as of conservatism, and the sacred Law of Islam is, therefore, capable of adjusting itself to changing times and satisfying highly complex social needs and requirements It can pass independent judgment on the various proposals of modern life, accept some, while rejecting others, according to its own living standards and ideals

In recent times, modifications along modern lines have been introduced into the laws of some Muslim countries like Turkey, Egypt and Iran Despite the dispositions which the Kamalist reformers borrowed from western nations, it has been recognized in a recent work on the juridical life of modern Turkey that "under Islamic Law the capacities of woman were in general much more extended than they are today

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according to the conception of law ¹

Since 1875 Egypt has a Code of Personal Statute and Succession which has repeatedly been revised. In the field of economics the Muslim countries are also in the process of adapting themselves to the conditions of the modern world. For instance, Egypt has been in the field of banking business a pioneer for other Muslim countries for in it was founded in 1920 the first bank with exclusively Egyptian capital and employees. The administration of modern banks by Muslims is not contradictory to Islamic principles. A western financial critic observed that when in 1934 the Bank referred to, undertook an insurance business fears were manifested that the acceptance of life insurance might be against the doctrines of Islam. But a *fatua* issued by one of the supreme religious bodies dispelled all these objections, so that a life insurance policy as a measure of caution, was declared permissible ².

In European countries which contain Muslim populations such as Yugoslavia, Albania and Poland Islamic Law has undergone a considerable evolution ³.

During the past few years there has been in Egypt a revival of interest in Islamic Law, for since the abolition of the Capitulations in 1937, a new

¹ Vol. 7 of the collection *La Vie Juridique des Peuples* edited by Lévy Ullmann and Mirkin Guetzwilch Paris 1939 p. 154

² J. Hans: *Aus der Finanzwelt des Islams* Vienna 1938 p. 17

³ See Dr. Mehmed Beovice: *Die Anwendung des Sheriatrechtes in den Balkan-Balkanstaaten* in the *Moslemische Revue* October 1935

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Egyptian legislation had to be constituted. Leading jurists and theologians have recognized the possibility of achieving the necessary juridical reforms within the framework of Islamic Law. By the working of the four rites which regulate the Shari'ah, there is ample scope for progress.¹ And it is worthy of note that, at the Conference of San Francisco (April, 1945), in the name of all the delegations of the Arab States, the Egyptian delegates succeeded in making the Conference adopt a motion "recognizing Islamic Law" as one of the sources of legislation in International Law, which may be applied by the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

Najib Armanâzi rightly points out that "Islamic Law knows no frontiers, it is the same for all, and the individual is free everywhere within the limits of law. He is everywhere a citizen, he is everywhere protected, he, his family and his property. That is what Islam did realize during centuries in its vast territories. Furthermore, by affording a unique conception of law, Islam avoided the conflicts between the civil and the religious regulations, private and public, national and international laws The Muslim International Law, which had been elaborated at the time of the great conquests, established rules corresponding to those prevalent today. In all that

1 Interesting statements in this respect, made by two learned Egyptian jurists, Abdel Razzak Sanhoury and Abdel Salam Zohny, may be read in *al-Fat'h* (Islamic Weekly, Cairo), Vol. XI, No 535, and in *al-Azhar Review*, Cairo, Vol VIII, No 1, respectively.

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which concerns peace, we find for instance the obligatory pressure of the conventions the respect for beliefs, mediation and arbitration—certain privileges of diplomatic agents neutrality, the regulations concerned with alliances and vassalage. But it was above all in things concerned with war that the Muslim legislator exercised his genius. He treated amply the preliminaries of hostilities the methods of combat as much those permitted as those prohibited the measures to be taken in war to spare the women the children the aged and the monks—the respect for the dead which required burying them and even the bodies of their enemies—the prohibiting of mutilations, the amelioration of the fates of the prisoners and captives.¹

The elaborate forms and balanced spirit of the Islamic Law are not the discovery of a single era still less of a single theological school or of a few jurists. They are the accretion of centuries the outcome of research and experience based upon the four fundamental roots of Muslim jurisprudence constantly finding channels for the impulse towards progress justice and social improvement inherent in Islam.

1 *L. Islam et le Droit International Thèse Paris 1929 pp 150-51*

CHAPTER IV

ISLAMIC POLITY

THE foundations of the Islamic State were laid by the Prophet after his Hijra (emigration) from Mecca to Medina where the Muslim community had become consolidated into a new political structure. The old Arab tribal units were upset, clan feeling and pedigree were subdued and the Arabs in the new and growing Muslim State became all united under one banner and with one title—Islam.

Society in the Muslim State is subject to the sovereignty of the Divine Law or *Shari'ah*. In this society everyone has individually to perform the duties which the *Shari'ah* enjoins, and also to see that they are respected and practised by others. Sharply defined classes or social strata are absent. There is no specially privileged class neither a hereditary aristocracy nor a priesthood. Socially and economically there is no difference between the greatest of the Caliphs and the lowest of the citizens.

The Muslims choose from among themselves as their ruler or chief one who is called the Caliph or Imam or *Amir ul Muminin*, i.e., Commander of the Faithful. His prerogatives as the head of the State are well defined but he should never act in contra-

vention of Law

The affairs of the State are performed by the *Shoora* or Council of State. The practice of the principle of *Ijma'* (already referred to in the preceding chapter) is of great importance as a guidance in the affairs of the State, it provides for a free democracy.

The head of the State transcends family, tribal, or racial divisions. His duty is to take advice and never to act arbitrarily or autocratically. He is responsible for the conduct of the affairs of the State to his subjects. The Quran says: "And consult them in affairs. Then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in God, for God loveth those who put their trust (in Him)" (S III: 159). The Prophet consulted always with his companions.

A. Yusuf Ali¹ rightly states that the religious polity of Islam is not committed to any particular form of sovereignty, such as kingship, aristocracy or democracy. It defines certain great principles and lays down certain conditions for a righteous state. The principle of liberty is insisted upon. The supremacy of law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity. It is supreme not only over the subjects but over their rulers as well. This supreme law has its source in divine ordinance. The Muslim conception of law postulates something archetypal and eternal at the base, with ever-adapting superstructures constructed according to the needs, opportunities,

1 The Religious Polity of Islam, in *Journal of Transactions of Society for Promoting the Study of Religions*, January, 1934

tastes temperaments, and intelligence of the various sections of people concerned and elaborated by the wisest of the people with the tacit consent of all, in whose interests they are constructed. It is the base which gives it vigour and vitality and links it with universal religion and archetypal ethics, the aim of which is to bring into conformity the action of man with the will of God. Willing obedience is necessary to the efficacy of law.

Non-Muslim subjects in a Muslim State enjoy full religious and civil liberty. We find evidence of respect for their rights, of broad tolerance generosity and justice towards them in the Charters of the Prophet and of the early Caliphs. Thus in the Charter of Muhammad to the Christians of Najran and the neighbouring territories, it is mentioned that 'the security of God and the pledge of His Apostle are extended for their lives, their religion and their property, there shall be no interference with the practice of their faith or their observances, no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric, nor any monk from his monastery. Nor are the Christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building mosques or houses for the Muslims. Should the Muslims be engaged in hostilities with outside Christians, no Christian resident among the Muslims should be treated with contempt on account of his creed. They shall not oppress or be oppressed.

In his instructions to the leaders of the expeditions against hostile tribes and enemy people, the

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Prophet invariably enjoined them in peremptory terms to be always humane : " Molest not the harmless inmates of homes ; spare the weakness of women ; injure not the infant at the breast, or those who are ill in bed . Abstain from demolishing the dwellings of unresisting inhabitants , destroy not the means of their subsistence, not their fruit trees ; and touch not the palm."

Abû Bakr, the first Caliph, following the Prophet, thus enjoined his captain : " Be sure you do not oppress the people, but advise with them in all your affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just . . . If you gain victory (over your enemies) kill not little children, nor old people, nor women. Destroy no palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn , cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle . . . When you make any covenant stand to it, and be as good as your word . As you go on, you will find some religious (Christian) persons who live retired in monasteries, and who propose to themselves to serve God that way . Let them alone, and neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries "

Omar, the second Caliph, issued edicts and ordinances which bring to light the policy and practice of the Islamic State in dealing with its non-Muslim subjects : For instance, we find the following passage in his order to Abu Ubaida, the Commander of the Army, after the conquest of Syria : " Forbid the Muslims so that they may not oppress the non-Muslims, nor commit any damage to them, nor seize their

property without a valid cause, and fulfill all the terms and conditions which you have covenanted with them. And the following passage occurs in the treaties of Persia, Jerusalem and other conquered provinces: 'Guarantee of protection is given to them (non Muslims) for their lives and properties and religion and law, no change will be made in any one of them.'

As Wahed Husain¹ points out that not only did the Caliphs issue such edicts but their lieutenants and governors in the conquered territories followed the example of their masters and promulgated similar orders. To quote one such order, as included in the terms of the treaty concluded by Habib ibn Mislama with the people of Dabil in Armenia: 'In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement. This is a letter from Habib ibn Mislama to the people of Dabil—Christians, Magians and Jews, such of them as are present and such of them as are absent. Verily I guarantee the safety of your lives, properties, churches, temples and city-walls, ye are secure, and it is incumbent upon us faithfully to observe this treaty as long as ye observe it and pay the poll tax and the land tax. God is witness and He sufficeth as a witness.'

The scheme of taxation on *Zimmis* (non Muslims under Muslim protection or trusteeship) in the early days of Islam was as fair as was consistent with the ideas of the age. The *Jizya* was not a penal tax, it

¹ *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India with a History of the Origin of the Islamic Legal Institutions*. Calcutta 1934 pp. 152-53.

was a substitute for military service which was obligatory upon every Muslim.

In the early Islamic State, the public treasury, called *Bait-ul-Māl* belonged to the whole community. An elaborate scheme of finance was worked out. The State insisted that finance should be conducted according to good moral principles. Hoarding of money without spending it upon actions which are considered as pious and of help to the welfare of the Muslim community is condemned. Various kinds of expenditure, and certainly all expenditure on the personal caprices of the ruler were held to be unlawful. Property and capital, as well as the State's right to control the resources of the community are fully recognized. But on the other hand, all factors which make for the misuse or selfish abuse of economic power by individuals or corporations are strictly regulated. The State's duty to provide for the well-being and suitable employment of its citizens is emphasized.

There is a widely spread misconception in the West about Church and State in Islam. Western historians and critics have often assumed the distinct existence of these two elements in Islam, as they are in Christendom, and that the idea of their separation may, therefore, be similar. But this is a fallacy. For, if there is any apparent separation or distinction between Church and State in Islam, it is and can only be functional, whereas in the western sense this separation is an organic one. In the Islamic conception

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it is impossible to draw a sharp and fast line of demarcation between religion and politics seeing that in the Islamic society religion pervades and permeates all strata and regulates every individual action both in the spiritual and in the material domain. In other words both religion and politics exist in Islam in a perfect state of symbiosis. In Islam, therefore there is no Church in the western sense of the word. It may, consequently, be assumed that Islam is the State and the State is Islam. But it must be made clear that this assumption does not imply any totalitarian character of religion. It denotes the inclusive and universal ideal of Islam as a religion and a political system. In other words this assumption defines a healthy tempore spiritual blending in the organism of the Islamic State. If in the Constitutions of some Muslim countries Islam is declared to be the religion of the State, this should be regarded as superfluous, as being only a pure formality. In the Islamic State as I have already stated politics is a symbion which together with religion forms one entity.

In the ideal form of the Islamic State the government draws the inspiration of its constitution from the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet, and obtains from the *Shoora* or Council of State the advice and help of the representatives of the Muslim community. Furthermore, its legislation assures to individuals perfect equality of rights and justice. The supremacy of the Divine Law is held as being to be essential to the efficacy of government. The

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flexibility and adaptability of Law admit of development and progress

Erich Pritsch¹ remarks that "the conception that the Islamic State is not founded upon a national, but alone upon a religious basis is, as a matter of fact, the necessary inference which follows, on one side from the character of the Muslim community as a religious state, and on the other, from the character of the Islamic religion as a world religion. If Islam as a religion stops at no frontiers, but rather, because it wishes to proclaim truths, endeavours to conquer the world, the Muslim community must surmount the national barriers and accept, fundamentally, all believers without regard for race or nationality. But the Islamic community is a state, and thus this state must stretch out over the entire world of Islam. And as Islam aspires to be a world religion, its religious ideal can only be completely fulfilled when all mankind acknowledges it. The final political ideal of Islam follows thus, from a state of nationalities comprising the whole world upon a religious basis, an all-inclusive *civitas Dei* in the most intimate sense of the word, that unites all mankind religiously and politically."

With the expansion of Islam, there have been formed several Muslim States, and these have been controlled, during the early period of the Caliphate, by a unified supra-national central government, which

¹ *Die Islamische Staatsidee in Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 53, Band, I Heft, 1939

in its conception and machinery, was a form of an inclusive league of nations

Islam did not try a militant form of imperialism nor did it endeavour to form a universal worldly empire similar to that of Rome or Napoleon. For Islam did not conquer for the lust of conquest, but for the proclamation and institution on earth of the Divine message. The Muslim conquerors aimed at founding a spiritual reign. The French philosopher Auguste Comte, a friend of the Muslims, admiringly acknowledged that they had succeeded in setting up a spiritual power.

The Muslim community actually enjoyed the blessings of the perfect Islamic State during the reign of the first four Caliphs the Wise or rightly-guided Abu Bakr Omar Othmān and Ali.

To sum up the perfect Islamic State is republican in its regime, divinely-sanctioned in its law, inclusive in its citizenship, democratic in its society, religiously inspired in its Constitution supra national in its sovereignty, temporal spiritual in its government and universal in its ideal.

CHAPTER V

THE CALIPHATE

THE caliphate is an Islamic institution involving, theoretically the successorship to the position of the founder of the religion. In the spirit of the orthodox Muslim law, the caliph is the mandatory of the Muslim community. According to the traditional theology the caliphate or the vicegerency of the Prophet, is an obligation ordained by the Islamic Law for the temporal and spiritual guardianship of the Muslims, for the defence of Islam and the continued observance of its laws and rules.

The caliph or supreme Imam, is not an autocratic sovereign; he is responsible for his acts. He combines in his person the spiritual and temporal authority which devolves on him as the vicegerent of the Prophet. He should conduct the secular as well as the religious affairs of the State in consultation with councillors as was the case under the first four caliphs, or as in later times by delegates collectively or individually. With regard to public prayers, unless physically incapacitated the caliph is bound to conduct them in person.

The caliph has both executive and judicial attributes but he must not encroach upon the legislative domain. The later practice of despotism in the

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Islamic Empire was quite contrary to the word and spirit of Islamic Law, '*Shari'ah*', which insists that caliph and judge must both bow before the law, that is to say, before the legislative power. Rashid Rida¹ lucidly shows the importance of the principle of *Ijtihād* (personal effort and capacity in the judicial sense) and that its application is necessary to the Islamic State; it is essential to all genuine legislative functions. It is not the caliph, but the representatives of the Muslim community who legislate

Distinction must be made between the institution of the caliphate, in itself, and the designation of a candidate who is most worthy of assuming the functions of caliph. As regards the first, Muslims have always recognized the obligatory character of the caliphate. As to the question of persons, there has been historically divergence of opinion which from being pacific at the beginning, sometimes led to battle.

Among the essential qualifications of a candidate, according to the traditional theology, is the one that the caliph must be a Muslim and capable of exercising supreme temporal authority; he must be an absolutely independent ruler politically, and free of all foreign non-Muslim control. He must be physically and mentally fit, of good character, capable of conducting the affairs of the State and also of leading at prayers. A caliph is not considered to be without sin or immaculate and he need not necessarily be a descend-

1 *Al-Khilāfah aw' al-Imāmah al-'Ozma* (The Caliphate or the Supreme Imamate) (Arabic), Cairo, 1923

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ant of the family of the Prophet as Islamic Law imposes no tribal or racial restrictions upon the choice of a caliph

The two modes of investiture of the caliphate are election by the Muslim community and nomination by the preceding caliph. The legitimacy of the caliph does not necessarily depend on the manner of his election or on a law of succession, it is derived from the proclamation by the people the ceremony of proclamation being called 'Bai'ah

The mode of succession of the Muslim caliphs varied. On the Prophet's death, Abu Bakr was chosen and installed by the unanimous suffrage of the Muslims. With the submission of Ali, the Prophet's cousin to the authority of Abu Bakr, the democratic republican principle superseded the hereditary one. With the election of Abu Bakr, an exceedingly important precedent in the history of the caliphate was created inasmuch as it led later on to the establishment of the principle of free election by the assembled representatives of the community and its subsequent confirmation by general consent. Thus the authority of the caliph is really derived from the nation, "Ummah" the act of election being a virtual contract between him and the nation.

Abu Bakr, before his death had designated Omar as his successor in the vicegerency and this appointment was accepted by the unanimity of the people including the family of the Prophet. In his turn Omar had designated, before his death, an electoral

committee consisting of six eminent members of the Muslim community, to choose his successor to the caliphate. Their choice fell on Othmân, a descendant of Omayyah, and he was installed as Caliph by the regular practice of the suffrage of the people. On Othmân's death, Alî, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was proclaimed Caliph. But his election led to civil war, precipitated by Mu'âwiyah, an Omayyad by descent, who had been governor of Syria under the third Caliph Othmân. The death of Alî marked the end of the perfect caliphate in the perfect 'Islamic State

During the rule of these four 'Wisely-guided' Caliphs, which lasted for thirty years, the unity of the Islamic world was an established fact, the authority of the caliph, both spiritual and temporal, was supreme and extended over the whole of the State. Religious and civil liberties were insured, democracy was most efficiently practised. Law and justice for all were administered, order and security prevailed everywhere. The inaugural address of Abu Bakr, the first successor of the Apostle of God, '*khalifat Rasul-Allah*', is one of the most impressive utterances ever made by a ruler :

"O People ! Now I am ruler over you, albeit, not the best amongst you. If I do well, support me ; if I err, set me right. Follow the truth, wherein is faithfulness and eschew the false, wherein is treachery. The weakest among you shall be the strongest with me, until I have redressed his wrong . and the strongest

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shall be as the weakest until if the Lord will, I shall have taken from him that which he hath wrested. Obey me only so far as I obey God and His Apostle. If I go beyond these bounds, I have no authority over you. Omar the second Caliph, proclaimed human liberty when he said 'Do not enslave men their mothers have borne them free. And it was Ali the fourth Caliph, who said 'The blood of the Zimmī (non-Muslim living under Muslim rule) is like the blood of the Muslim.

During the first period of the existence of the caliphate (632 to 661 A.D.) with its seat at Medina the Muslim community was ruled in a unified manner. The caliph was advised by a council of the most able among the people he united in himself the religious and political attributes he effectively administered the Islamic Law and successfully defended the unified Islamic State. Muslim government, to use modern terminology, was a democratic republic. Although politically unified, the Muslim Empire was composed of different races and of different religions, the caliph ruled the heterogeneous elements in the State with the most perfect impartiality and the most scrupulous justice¹.

Upon the death of Ali by assassination Mu'awiya the founder of the Omayyad dynasty who aspired to

¹ There exist in Islamic literature several important treatises on the ethics of rulers and sovereigns, famous among which are *Al Ahkām al Sulṭāniyyah* by the political economist and jurist al Mawardi (a native of Basra (died 1058)) and a treatise on the *Model City* by the great Arab philosopher al Fārābī (died 950).

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the assumption of the caliphate, had no more serious rival. He obtained a renunciation of Hasan, the eldest son of Ali, and received the suffrage of the people of Syria. Thus in 661 A.D. Mu'âwiyah firmly established his authority at the new capital Damascus and became the first Caliph of the Omayyad dynasty. The Omayyad regime took the form of a hereditary monarchy. On the death of Mu'âwiyah's grandson another member of the same family, named Marwân, assumed the caliphate. Under his son Abdul-Malik and his grandson al-Walid the Arab Empire was considerably extended by new conquests in North Africa and in Spain. The Omayyad Caliphate lasted from 661 to 749 A.D. (40 A.H. to 132 A.H.).

In 749 A.D. Abu'l Abbas, surnamed al-Saffâh, descendant of al-Abbas, another one of the Prophet's uncles, overthrew the last ruler of the Omayyad dynasty and was proclaimed caliph at Kufa. With him the Abbaside period of the caliphate began, and Baghdad, which was built by al-Mansur, the brother and successor of al-Saffâh, became the capital and seat of government. The caliphate became hereditary in the Abbaside dynasty, and the Persian element in the government became prominent. The caliphate flourished immensely under the early rulers of the Abbaside dynasty, especially during the reign of the celebrated Harun al-Rashid who became Caliph in 786 A.D. and who was the contemporary of Charlemagne, Emperor of the Franks, and of al-Mamûn who ruled till 833 A.D. (218 A.H.).

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This period witnessed a great development in the Islamic Law and in the elaboration of a harmonious and adaptable doctrine. *Qudāt* or judges, and *Mustūn*, or counsellors, were selected from among those well versed in the Sacred Law, *Shari'ah*, in order to help the authorities in the domains of justice, and the legislative process was greatly advanced.

As regards the political unity of the Muslim world it could not be established because the vast Muslim Empire had become subdivided. Spain seceded and an Omayyad Caliphate was established at Cordova. Nevertheless the early Abbaside Caliphs were able to defend the Muslim world with firmness and valour. During the same epoch a great intellectual movement grew up with considerable progress in science, literature and philosophy.

Besides the Omayyad Caliphate of Cordova, a Fatimide Caliphate was established in Egypt. Furthermore independent dynasties were formed in Persia, in Syria at Mosul and in North Africa. The Almohades, the Almoravides and the many Berber Arab dynasties which upon the downfall of the Almoravides succeeded one another, had no right to the supreme Imamate. The right of the Abbasides, despite their progressive weakness to the caliphate continued unchallenged. In 1099 A.D., Yusuf ibn Tashefin the Almohade conqueror after the decisive battle of al-Zallāqa where he was victorious over the Christian armies obtained from the Abbaside Caliph al Muqtadī, an investiture with the title of *Amīr al Muslimīn*.

But neither the "Caliphs" of Cordova nor any of the Muslim sovereigns of after periods assumed the dignity of the Supreme Imamate or Caliphate.

But the whole power of the Abbaside Caliphate was suffering an eclipse. The actual authority of the caliph was exercised by the main guards: Turks, Persians, Kurds, etc. During the later stages of decadence, it was the Turkish influence, rather than the Persian, one that prevailed at the Abbaside Court.

The Abbaside Caliphate lasted for five centuries until the catastrophic Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. Destructive hordes swept upon Baghdad in 1258 A.D. in which year the last Abbaside Caliph, al-Musta'sim was put to death by Hulagu, the conquering Mongol, and the Abbaside Caliphate practically came to an end. For the first time, the Muslim world was left without a caliph and for three years it remained afflicted by this event without precedent in the annals of Islam.

After the ruin of Baghdad, abu'l Qasim, an uncle of the last caliph, escaped and found refuge in Egypt. There he was welcomed and hospitably received by Baibars, the Mameluke Sultan of the day (in 1261 A.D.). He was then acknowledged Caliph, under the title of al-Mustansir Billah, and he proceeded then to invest the Sultan of Egypt with legitimate authority. The Abbaside Caliphate thus re-established in Cairo, lasted for over two centuries and a half. Throughout this period, the descendants of the Abbaside Caliph maintained their honorific title of Caliph only.

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as a symbol of the State, the real political power being exercised by the Mameluke Sultans, each one of which, on his accession to power received his investiture from the Caliph. This offshoot of the Abbasside dynasty in Egypt lasted till the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Turks. But the Muslim Empire was at that period divided into three principal States that of the Mongols in the east that of the Mamelukes in the centre and that of the Berber-Arabs in the west. Despite the partition of the empire there were some theorists who affirmed the unity of Islam under the supreme authority of the Caliph. These doctrinal affirmations had however, an echo in practice. For Muslim independent sovereigns demanded their investiture by the Abbaside Caliph at Cairo whom they regarded as the bestower of lawful authority. The last of these caliphs was captured by the Ottoman Sultan Selim II conqueror of Egypt in 1517 A D. The caliphate was transferred to the Turkish conqueror who was considered to be the only Muslim sovereign capable of restoring the caliphate and possessing sufficient power and authority to fill the office and effectively discharge the functions incumbent on a caliph. Henceforth Constantinople (Istanbul) became the seat of the caliphate. During Sultan Selim's reign and that of his son, the famous Suleiman the Magnificent embassies from the rulers of the various Muslim States came to offer their homage to the Ottoman Caliph. The caliphate became thus the heritage of the Dynasty of Othman which they continued to possess for four centuries.

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The Mamelukes of Egypt had been able to offer a successful resistance to the Mongol invasion. But, after the tide of devastation had receded, this resistance became the lot of the Ottoman Turks, originally a branch of the Oghuz tribe which had been driven forward by the movement of the Mongols.

In the course of the thirteenth century, these Othmanlis became able to establish themselves in Asia Minor; in 1358, they crossed into Europe. In 1453, Constantinople fell into their hands and the Byzantine Empire came to an end. Not long after this, the Ottoman Turks became able to establish their position as the leaders of the Islamic world.

At the beginning, however, the Turks did not seem to attach much importance to the title of caliph, the prestige of which had considerably diminished with the decline of the Abbaside Caliphate at Baghdad. It was only much later, at the time when, in the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire began to decline, that the Turkish statesmen began to exalt the title of caliph, assumed by their sovereigns, in order to give a new force to the Turkish Empire in the eyes of the occidental Powers. The Constitution of 1876 announced that the "Sublime Ottoman Sultanate, which possessed the supreme Islamic Caliphate, will appertain to the eldest of the descendants of the House of Othmân." Sultan Abdul Hamid II made full use of this assumption in order to stir up sympathy in many Muslim lands. His pan-Islamic policy was a defensive weapon, and in calling himself

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Sultan Caliph and Commander of the Faithful, he sought to emphasize the temporal character of his authority as caliph

With the Ottoman dynasty, the regime continued as before to be a hereditary monarchy. When Abdul Hamid and his despotic regime had been overthrown and a constitutional democratic regime set up, that action was in conformity with the spirit of the Islamic Law

The Turkish conquests had subdued to this war like people the greater part of the Muslim world. At the height of their power, the Turks extended their authority over Asia Minor, the Balkans and part of Central Europe, over the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunisia and Algeria. Some Muslim countries remained outside their domination especially Persia, India, Central Asia and Morocco. The vast Turkish Empire, however, was not destined to be maintained for a long time. With the rise of western Imperialism an anti-Muslim policy prevailed with the European great Powers and there was a strong inclination to push Islam out of the way, as it seemed to interfere with European schemes of commercial expansion and economic exploitation. Piece by piece the Turkish Empire, which was internally suffering from misrule, became dismembered and partitioned by the European Powers.

After the defeat of Turkey in the First World War, it became quite clear that the Sultan of Turkey was no more than a tool in the hands of the Allied

Powers occupying Constantinople. The Kamalist national government at Ankara deposed the Sultan and this was followed in October, 1923, by the proclamation of a republic in Turkey. The new republic was not yet six months old when a second revolutionary change took place. On the 3rd of March, 1924, the Turkish Grand National Assembly at Ankara abolished the Ottoman Caliphate and expelled the last Sultan-Caliph Abdul Majid and all the members of the House of Othmân from Turkey. Thus ended the Ottoman dynasty which had held the Caliphate from about 1517 till 1924.

Since 1924 the office of caliphate lies vacant for the second time in the history of Islam.

It should be remembered that the caliphate had become, during the reign of the last Ottoman Sultans, an office devoid of the dignity and immense prestige and authority which it enjoyed in the glorious past. The Ottoman Sultans became mere figure-heads with no real power, either spiritual or political, and, thus, incapable and unworthy of the office of caliph, an office which existed no more in the sense of the Islamic Law.

The abolition of the caliphate, however, caused a great deal of excitement in the Muslim world, which was taken by surprise and afflicted by this sudden and radical measure.

As was not otherwise to be expected, from all sides lively protests arose against the Kamalist policy towards the caliphate, and the question of the same

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was thoroughly discussed, especially in the Arab world and in India¹

As regards the solution of this question in practice great difficulties have arisen for here it was not only a religious problem which came under consideration but also in the highest degree a political one

The attempt made by Sharif Hussain King of Hijaz, to claim the title of caliph for himself utterly failed because of the speedy loss of his temporal power and his departure from the country in 1925 following his defeat by the victorious Ibn Sa'ud

The deposition and exile from Turkey of the last Ottoman Caliph did not in legal theory affect the existence of the office, which awaits a new incumbent Upon the initiative of the Egyptian Ulema a Congress of the Caliphate was held at Cairo from the 13th to the 19th of May 1926 but not all the Muslim countries were represented in it The Congress reaffirmed the necessity of the Caliphate and its definition and conception according to the *Shari'ah* or Islamic Law The Congress thus insisted upon the fact that a true caliph must hold both spiritual and temporal powers The Congress came to the conclusion that, in view of the present condition of the Islamic world, the time for the reinstitution of a caliph had not yet come, particularly as there was not at present a candidate who would be able to ful-

¹ Consult in this respect A. Sanhoury *Le Califat Son Evolution vers une Société des Nations orientale* Thèse Lyon 1926 and Moh. Barakatullah of Bopal (India) *The Khilafet* London 1924

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fil his principal duty, namely to protect Islam in all Islamic countries and to care for the fulfilment of the precepts of the Islamic Law, under prevailing political conditions. The Congress admonished all Muslims not to neglect the question of the caliphate but to await the accomplishment of favourable conditions which would make possible the reinstitution of the caliphate. Since then, the Muslim peoples have, by means of periodical conferences, such as the General Islamic Congress which met in December, 1931 at Jerusalem and the First European Islamic Congress that met in Geneva in 1935, striven to keep alive their solidarity and moral unity, leaving the positive solution of the problem of the caliphate to future political developments.

During the thirteen centuries of its existence, the Caliphate has met with widely varying fortunes as above shown. But, undoubtedly, it has been the historic symbol that united this great family of Muslim peoples scattered over every quarter of the earth. The proclamation of a legitimate caliph is an obligation incumbent upon the Muslim community by Islamic Law. The reinstitution of the caliphate in its full dignity and power is one of the vital aspirations of the Muslim world.

CHAPTER VI

ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

The Quran is the inspiration and the cause of all the achievements of Islamic culture. Its precepts encourage the search of knowledge, and the Prophet counselled and ordained its acquisition. He commented on the pursuit of science in these terms: To seek knowledge is a duty for every Muslim man and woman. Seek knowledge even though it be in China. The savants are the heirs of the Prophets.

‘ These profound words of the great reformer, writes a western scholar¹ ‘are an indisputable contradiction to those who seek and exert themselves in putting the responsibility of the intellectual degradation of Muslims upon the spirit of the Quran. Let them read and meditate upon this great Book and they will find in it, at every passage, a constant attack upon idolatry and materialism, they will read that the Prophet incessantly called the attention and the meditation of his people to the splendid marvels to the mysterious phenomena of creation. The incredulous sceptical and unbelieving may convince themselves that the importance of this Book and its doctrine was not to throw back, eventually, the intel-

¹ Dr A Bertherand *Contributions des Arabes au progrès des Sciences Médicales* Paris 1883 p 6

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lectual and moral faculties of a whole people. On the contrary, those who have followed its counsels have been, as we have described in the course of this study, the creators of a civilization which is astounding unto this day "

As Islam took root in the east and in the west, it established Arabic as the common language for the new Muslim Empire. The credit of having evolved a uniform and unique culture must be assigned to religion, because with Muslims it is an all-powerful factor. For, Islam not only conquered, it unified. It broke down prejudices and barriers of race, tongue and nationality.

The Arabs, aflame with religious zeal, became, by conquest, masters of all the rich and civilized countries of the Old World. They impressed on the lands and peoples they ruled, the harmonizing and unifying stamp of their religion and language. Into this unified world, the Islamic civilization was born. It was the product of the fruitful collaboration of innumerable peoples of all races which lived throughout the vast Muslim Empire, but it is sometimes termed "Arabic" civilization because it was the Arabs who first kindled the torch of Islamic culture. That brave and gifted people unfolded not only their great adaptive and absorbing capacity, but also their original and creative powers. "What a noble people were the Arabs," says Backmann in his *History of Inventions*. "We are indebted to them for much knowledge and for many inventions of great utility, and we

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should have still more to thank them for were we fully aware of the benefits we have derived from them. What a pity that their works should be suffered to moulder into dust without being available! What a shame that those acquainted with this rich language should meet with so little encouragement! Had I still twenty years to live and could hope for an abundant supply of Arabic works, I would learn Arabic.

After having achieved their conquests the Arabs were quite as active, and offered proof of the same qualities in the domain of science as they had shown in the art of war. Says Dr. Lucien Leclerc: 'Never again will the world see so marvellous a spectacle as that which the Arabs afforded during the ninth century. This pastoral people whom religious enthusiasm had suddenly made masters of half the world, having once founded their empire immediately set to work to acquire that knowledge of the sciences which was lacking to their greatness. Of all the invaders who competed for the remnants of the Roman Empire they alone pursued such studies while the Germanic hordes priding themselves upon their brutality and ignorance, took a thousand years to reunite the broken chains of traditions, which the Arabs had accomplished in less than a century. They provoked the competition of the conquered Christians—a healthy competition which secured the harmony of the races. At the end of the eighth

1 *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe* Tome I pp 51 52

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century, the whole scientific possessions of the Arabs consisted in a translation of one medical treatise and of some books on alchemy. Before the ninth century had run to its close, the Arabs were in possession of all the sciences of the Greeks, they had produced from their own ranks students of the first order, and they showed from this time onwards an aptitude for the exact sciences, which was lacking in their instructors and whom they henceforward surpassed "

In the building up of the Islamic civilization several influences have contributed, the important influence of Hellenic knowledge, met with in Syria and Mesopotamia, then Hindu science and also Persian culture. An astounding amount, both of oriental and occidental culture, was thus introduced among the Arabs who advanced, from an adoption and assimilation of foreign acquisitions to the development of original performances. A rapid rise and an astonishingly wide dissemination of scientific activity under the Arabs was chiefly traceable to the fact that Greek scientific literature was early and freely translated into the living language of the Quran which had become a universal cultural medium. Arabic was the language of government and daily life, and was used for the purposes of learning and philosophy.

Between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. the hegemony of the scientific and philosophical worlds, as of the world of arms and affairs, lay with Islam, whose sway extended athwart the world from China to the Atlantic. Teeming with intellectual

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activity, these vast regions had become united not only by a religion but also by a language, and Islam thus enjoyed an advantage never attained by any civilization before or since

The Muslims played a vital rôle in the evolution of humanity, not only through advances realized in almost all fields of learning but also by saving the treasures of ancient culture. The Muslim peoples preserved for the world the patrimony of Greek science¹ and philosophy which they enriched with their own experiences and transmitted to Europe. Not only did the Islamic sciences form the link between antiquity and the modern world but they determined in Europe the first renaissance which from the thirteenth century onwards ushered in the era of modern civilization.

At the end of the eighth and the commencement of the ninth centuries the caliphate was at the height of its power and the economic prosperity of the enlarged Islamic world was assured by a flourishing agriculture, great industrial activity, a steadily extending commerce and an established and highly-developed financial system. Then began that great intellectual movement which exercised so great an influence upon the history of mankind. The tenth century witnessed Islamic civilization at its zenith and its influence extending both in the east and in the west.

¹ Certain works of Galen were lost in the originals but have been preserved in Arabic translation only.

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The real rise of Islamic civilization came to pass upon the accession to power of the Abbaside Caliphs. The transition to liberal cosmopolitan tendencies, with their sequence of higher forms of economic and intellectual life, soon found expression in the transference of the capital to Baghdad. Built upon Mesopotamian soil and at the intersection of all the great trade-routes of the Middle East, Baghdad embodied the traditions of the ancient oriental world-empire and was the natural mart for international traffic. With the glamour of the court of the Caliphs upon it, and magnetically attracting to itself the population and treasures of two hemispheres, Baghdad grew to be the greatest and most splendid of all cities.

Here arose those mighty impulses, whereby the treasures of nature were disclosed and turned to account, new tasks set to industry, and interchange of goods facilitated by the improvement and multiplication of means of communication. The seat of a world-controlling power, the thriving centre of industry and trade, and the scene of boundless luxury, Baghdad became also an academy of learning. Under the official protection of the broad-minded and tolerant Caliphs, who were quick to support and encourage savants, systematic translation on an extensive scale began, embracing by degrees every branch of knowledge. The caliphs interested themselves in obtaining the original Greek manuscripts. These at times could only be acquired through diplomacy. Special commissions of scholars were instituted for the translation

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of the cultural treasures of the past into Arabic. It was thus that the Caliph al-Mamun, a great patron of art and science, founded a special institution for translating and placed it under the direction of distinguished scholars. During his reign (813-833), the work of translations attained its height. The presence at Baghdad of the Nestorian physicians belonging to the family of Bakhtishu was the spark which was to light the fire. As a matter of fact the Nestorians played an important part in initiating the Arabs into the Greek sciences by giving them the first translations made.¹ Jibril ibn Bakhtishu (d. 828) was the most famous member of that family.

Greek manuscripts formed the bulk of the works translated, but Indian and Persian literature were also taken into account. At first, medical, mathematical and astronomical works were dealt with, translations being made to begin with from the Syriac version of Greek authors but later directly from Greek into Arabic. The writings of Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Plato, Ptolemy, Euclid, Archimedes, Appolonios, Paul of Aegina, Oribasius and many others were translated into Arabic. Among the celebrated translators were Yuhanna ibn Masawayh, Hunayn ibn Ishaq who also wrote an original work.

¹ In the fifth century A.D. the persecuted Nestorians, excluded from church and state, devoted themselves to the science of the Greeks then condemned by Christendom. They were driven by Byzantine intolerance from their school at Edessa and took refuge in Persian territory where they transmitted Hellenic culture at Jundishapur.

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in Arabic on eye diseases, Thabit ibn Qurra, and Qusta ibn Luqa.

Towards the end of the ninth century, the stage of translation was at an end. It was followed by the stage of original work, where Muslim savants and authors of the first rank appeared in an increasing number.

Education was widely diffused. The busy traffic which led the would-be learners to the metropolis, facilitated acquaintance with new writings and intellectual achievements. There came into existence a large and active-minded class which thirsted after knowledge.

The court of the caliphs in those days was one of brilliant splendour. Men of science and letters, poets, physicians, and philosophers were munificently entertained, and differences of creed were no barrier to royal favour, for Christians and Jews were equally welcomed. Colleges and public libraries were established on a magnificent scale.

The steady growth of wealth produced elegance and refinement. Good roads, bridges, inns, caravans, fountains, facilitated intercourse, the abolition of inland taxes guaranteed emigration and settlement, harbours were provided for the benefit of shipping. Trade flowed unchecked over the great land-routes, while the bulk of Mediterranean shipping remained for three centuries in Muslim hands. The Mediterranean thus became a great highway, keeping the two

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halves of the Muslim world in contact notwithstanding their political separation. The tendency towards travel stimulated by the great extension of the Islamic dominion was very widespread. It arose not only from religious impulses (pilgrimage) or commercial interests, but also from pure thirst for knowledge.¹

A saying of the Prophet runs: Whosoever leaveth his house to seek wisdom pursueth the path of God until his return. The assurance of finding a knowledge of the Arabic language (which was a medium of supra national communication), of fellow-feeling and a hospitable reception, made no distance appear too long for going to where fresh knowledge was to be acquired or where famous teachers were to be heard. This impulse towards travel in search of knowledge was particularly favourable to geography, a subject to which the Muslims made many contributions.

The level reached in Baghdad is comparable only with that attained in Spain, where the Arabs had been firmly established since 711 A.D. The development of Islamic civilization on the banks of the

¹ Thus we find Arab physicians and savants of Spain such as Muhammad Ibn Abdūn who came to practise at the Hospital of al Fostat in Cairo and then returned to Andalusia travelling to the East for their information and accomplishment: the two sons of Yunus of Harran who went to study at Baghdad for eight years and Amr ibn Hafs who went to Kairawan to get the Viatique etc. On the other hand we find the great physicians and artists of the Orient attracted to Spain by the Muslim sovereigns.

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Guadalquivir ran a course parallel with that upon the Euphrates and Tigris

The Arabs raised Spain to a height of prosperity which it has never since attained. Never was a conquered nation so mercifully treated. Christians and Jews were allowed free exercise of their religions, they were employed at court, and they held office. The Arabs covered the land with palaces, mosques, hospitals, colleges, and bridges, and with enormous aqueducts which, penetrating the sides of mountains, or sweeping on lofty arches across valleys, rivalled the monuments of ancient Rome. The metropolis was Cordova, the seat of the western Caliphate. It stood in the midst of a fertile plain, washed by the waters of the Guadalquivir. It was encircled by suburban towns, there were miles of lighted streets. The great mosque of Cordova ranked among the largest and most sumptuous of Muslim shrines, it was one of the wonders of the mediæval world.¹

At a time when books were so rare in Europe that the man who possessed one often gave it to a church, and placed it on the altar to obtain remission of his sins, at a time when a few hundred parchment scrolls were considered a magnificent endowment for the richest monastery, when scarcely a priest in

1 Unfortunately, in 1523, the Cathedral Chapter built the cruciform church which now occupies the centre of the ancient mosque. Their action drew from Charles V, in 1526, the famous reproof "You have built here what you or anyone might have built anywhere else, but you have destroyed what was unique in the world."

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western Europe could translate Latin into his mother tongue here was a country in which every child was taught to read and write in which every town possessed a public library in which book collection was a passion, and in which even women earned distinction as poets and scholars

The nucleus of such a development of Islamic civilization throughout the Iberian Peninsula owes its origin to the Omayyad rulers of Spain who following ancestral example fostered with highly creditable zeal and far-reaching results not only the material well being of the country but also its intellectual aspirations its arts and crafts The reigns of Abdur Rahman III (912-961) and his son and successor al-Hakam II (961-976) coincided with a veritable golden age, wherein Cordova the city of the Caliphs, became the Baghdad of the West It was the centre of the highest culture and of the most refined arts, the repository of rich store of books and a centre for scientific research and it was for long the most enlightened best governed and most tolerant city of Europe.

Some conception of the prosperity of Spain under Muslim rule may be gained from the fact that in the tenth century the population of Cordova is computed at about a million At this period the city is said to have possessed fifty hospitals, nine hundred public baths eight hundred schools six hundred mosques and a library of 600 000 volumes in addition to seventy private libraries The demand for books was great,

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and as paper was manufactured (at first of cotton and afterwards of linen) in enormous quantities and cheaply, it could be plentifully supplied

In other large towns, too, from the tenth century onwards, a vigorous culture sprang up, emanating from Arabs, Beibers, Mozarabs and Jews. It was rendered possible by a peaceful advance of Islam, and up to the thirteenth century it could always command princely support. During that period Muslim Spain became the mentor of European science.

It should not be forgotten that the people, also, had a large share in the setting up of that great intellectual movement. In all the large cities throughout the Muslim Empire, the rich vied with one another in the possession of libraries and the support of scholars. Out of this movement sprang other great cultural centres at Bukhâra, Samarkand, Merv, al-Rayy, Isphahan, Basra, Damascus, Cairo, Kairawan, Marrakesh, Malaga, Granada, and other important cities in Spain.

Maintaining an active intellectual and industrial connection with the highly-developed civilization of the Eastern Caliphate, Moorish Spain enjoyed all its advantages; Cordova and Baghdad remained united in spirit.

The achievements during this era were enormous, and every branch of knowledge was represented in them. A very rich literature, which was widely ramified so as to include every subject, together with a highly-

developed educational system, ensured the continuity of research and the dissemination of knowledge¹

The success of the Muslims was greatest in mathematics astronomy and geography in mechanics and optics in chemistry and medicine in botany and mineralogy wherein by means of new and important discoveries, they surpassed their predecessors Sedillot in his *Histoire des Arabes* (Paris 1851) says "What especially characterized the Baghdad school at its beginning was the truly scientific spirit which presided over all To go from the known to the unknown, then from effects to causes, and only to admit as true what has been demonstrated by experimental work, such were the principles taught by the masters During the ninth century the Arabs were in possession of this fruitful method which a long time afterwards was to be in the hands of modern investigators, the instrument of their finest discoveries Repeated observations and experiments led to great additions to the sum of inherited knowledge keen analysis and accurate classification enhanced the value of the mass of facts collected and the high degree of technical development attained is an evidence of the beneficial influence of theory upon practice Even in the realm of pure theory, we meet with numerous manifestations of the philosophical spirit which inspired the learned men of Islam The great Muslim

¹ This immense literature included for example theory of music agriculture and horticulture warfare trade and various industries very important too were the numerous encyclopædias dictionaries and biographies.

thinkers foresaw, in some aspects, many truths that modern discoveries have revealed.

In a short survey of a subject of such an ample scope, it is impossible to describe in detail and comprehensively the Muslim achievements in every domain of science and art. I shall endeavour, therefore, to give an outline of the outstanding achievements in the main branches of knowledge.

The Arabs introduced the Indian numerical system into mathematics and improved the fundamental arithmetical operations. By the invention of the zero they made possible the decimal system, thus enormously simplifying all arithmetical calculation. Geometry was taken over by the Muslims from the Greeks and to it they added their own invention of Algebra,¹ the basis of so many arithmetical processes. One of the greatest Muslim mathematicians was Mohammed ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi. He flourished in the ninth century and wrote a famous treatise "*al-Jabr wa'l Muqābalah*." The Arabs developed spherical trigonometry, inventing the sine, tangent and cotangent.

In the field of astronomy, the Muslims made innumerable discoveries, and scientific terminology is reminiscent of them even today. They built many observatories and constructed many astronomical instruments. They introduced the excellent practice of making regular and, as far as possible, continuous

1. From the Arabic word *Jabr*, *al* of algebra is the Arabic article glued on to its noun.

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observations of the chief heavenly bodies. They also favoured the custom of noting the position of known stars at the beginning and end of an eclipse so as to have, afterwards, an exact record of the times of their occurrence. They calculated the angle of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes. The careful observations of the Muslims soon demonstrated the defects in the Greek astronomical tables, and new tables were, from time to time issued based on much the same principles as those in the *Almagest* but changes were made in such numerical data as the relative sizes of the various circles the positions of the apogees and the inclinations of the planes. Among the great Muslim astronomers, Ibn Yunus (tenth century), Abul-Abbas al-Farghani (Alfraganus of the Latins), al-Zarqali (Arzachel, 1029-1087), and Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Battani (Albategnius of the Latins) should be mentioned.

The mechanics of solid and fluid bodies received great attention. Muslim investigators employed extremely sensitive balances made use of the pendulum for measuring time and evolved new methods for determining specific gravity (pycnometer). Muslim scientists manufactured machines of locomotion automatic apparatus, water wells and water pipes.

In optics they added to the knowledge of the laws of reflection and refraction of light, and applied them to the elucidation of astronomical problems (twilight height of the atmosphere, etc). The great physicist

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Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Haitham (Alhazen' of the West) (965-1038) excelled in his researches in the science of optics. His writings were prolific and displayed an originality and skill generally superior to Ptolemy. His writings were translated into Latin and he was recognized in Europe as the chief authority on the subject

Based on mathematical and physical knowledge, architecture, land-surveying, carpentry, ship-building, pneumatics and gunnery attained a high degree of perfection. In the brilliance of the decoration which the Muslims applied in their architecture they had never been surpassed. Such sumptuous buildings as the great mosques in the East and in Muslim Spain rank among the most impressive monuments in the world. Many of their domestic buildings were equally elaborate and as opulently decorated. They contained luxurious pavilions and halls of audience, arranged with courts, and bathrooms, and gardens were provided on a lavish scale.

The Muslim geographers introduced greater exactness into their sciences by bringing them into touch with mathematics and astronomy. They made valuable discoveries in Central Asia and in Africa. Illustrious examples of the Muslim explorers who relied upon observation and inquiry are afforded by the geographers al-Mas'udi (tenth century), al-Maqdisi (tenth century), al-Idrisi, (1100-1166) and by al-Biruni (973-1050) who, in the words of George Sarton, "was one of the very greatest scientists of

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Islam and all considered one of the greatest of all times

Muslims made considerable advances in chemistry. The name of Jabir ibn Hayyan (known to the West as Geber) is intimately associated with the development of this science among the Arabs. He lived during the eighth century and he laid the foundations of that important branch of science. He knew how to prepare sulphuric and nitric acids and mix them so as to produce aqua regia. He described the preparation of numerous chemical substances and new methods for evaporation, filtration, sublimation, melting, distillation and crystallization. Jabir was the author of many chemical writings which were early translated into Latin.

To the Arab chemists, Europe owes its knowledge of corrosive sublimate, mercury oxide, acetate of lead, alums, alkalis, silver nitrate and other preparations.

In the domain of pharmacy, Muslims have great achievements to their credit. They created pharmacy as a regular established profession in every fairly large city in the Muslim Empire. Arabian apothecaries were famous for their considerable skill and experience¹. Fully equipped pharmacies were attached to

¹ The Arabian apothecaries were known by the name of *Sandalani*, probably on account of the large dials they had in sandalwood which was commonly used in the perfumes, cosmetics and other preparations of the time. Their shops were identified by coloured jars of liquids or solids placed over or around the entrance and it is from this custom that the apothecaries of the West of a later period came to employ the carboy of coloured water which afterwards became the common symbol of their calling and continued down to modern times. The Arab apothecaries were divided into two classes: those who sold simple medicines and preparations according to a stated tariff and the dispensers whose work consisted in scrupulously dispensing the prescriptions of the physicians.

hospitals The practice of pharmacy became an officially controlled institution. and it was even organized in the army

The Arabs were the first to introduce chemical preparations into pharmacy By using sugar instead of honey in the composition of potions and syrups, they made a great advance They obtained alcohol the word itself is Arabic from distillation.

The Muslims introduced many entirely new drugs They used drugs of milder action in place of more drastic ones, used in earlier times, thus senna, rhubarb, tamarind, musk, cassia, camphor, nutmegs, cloves, saffron, fennel, liquorice and many other vegetable remedies came into use among the nations of the West To them Europe owes the introduction of nuxvomica, aconite, amber, Indian hemp, colocynth and many mineral medicaments, particularly mercury, antimony and iron. The Islamic pharmacopœia, otherwise known as the *Aqrabāzin*, contained about two hundred new medicinal plants, a great many of which are still used at the present time

Muslim botanists broke away from Greek tradition and travelled widely in order to study nature directly The most outstanding figure among Muslim botanists was Abu Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn al-Baytar (died 1248), of Malaga He travelled throughout the Orient and North Africa for his botanical and pharmacological researches His chief work on the "Totality of Simple Medicaments" contained the description of more than 1,400 drugs of which 300 had

never before been considered in any work on pharmacology

With regard to physiology an Egyptian savant, Ala al-Din ibn al Nafis (1210-1288) is credited with having described the pulmonary circulation almost three centuries before Michel Servet (Servetus)

Medicine, amongst the Muslims, occupied a most important position. In the person of the physicians of Islam the East was once again the teacher of the West. The physician was supposed to know besides medicine the natures of the articles of food and medicaments, the composition of the body, he was expected to learn chemistry and pharmacy and practise his art in accordance with logical, mathematical and scientific principles.

By codifying the precepts of hygiene and making them binding upon all Islam gave a great impetus to the study of this branch of medicine. The injunctions laid down by the Quran regarding cleanliness, ritual purification, food, sexual life, etc., constitute a remarkable system of hygiene. The fact that Islam prohibits alcoholic drinks constitutes a social hygienic measure of the greatest importance. The Prophet said

Cleanliness is piety and he enjoined upon Muslims the care of their health.

From the point of view of pathology, the Muslim physicians made three important advances: they methodically classified the scattered elements of Greek medicine, they created clinical medicine, and they enriched pathology with a knowledge of new diseases.

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In the clinical study of disease, they showed themselves keen observers and their description of symptoms shows a precision and an originality that could only be obtained by a direct study of disease. In diagnosis and prognosis they excelled. In their application of rational methods of treatment, they also gave an important place to dietetics, physiotherapy and hygiene.

Alī ibn al-Abbas (died 994) was the author of a marvellous work, *al-Kitāb al-Malīkī* (*Liber regnū*) which covered the entire field of medicine and was distinguished by its very practical character.

Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya al-Rāzī (called Rhazes in the West) is the greatest clinician of Islam and the most distinguished representative of Muslim medical learning. He was born about 860 at Rayy, near Teheran, and died in 925 (or 932). Karl Sudhoff says that "in the history of medicine, Rhazes must be considered as one of the greatest physicians of all time." The total number of the works of Rhazes surpass 230, some of which are of considerable size. Many of them dealt with medicine, but other writings were devoted to mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, chemistry, and physics. His greatest medical works are *al-Hāwī* (*Continens*) and *al-Mansurī* (*Almansoris*). Rhazes also wrote a small but very important and original treatise on "Small-pox and Measles." It constitutes the first authentic clinical description of these diseases and is considered by all critics as one of the masterpieces of Islamic medical

literature Rhazes was appointed physician in-chief of the Baghdad hospital founded in 918 by the Caliph al Muqtadir. Medical students and physicians voyaged from distant countries to seek this great medical teacher and practitioner.

Abu Ali al Husain ibn Abdullah ibn Sina known in the West as Avicenna, and called the Prince of Physicians the rival indeed of Galen was born near Bokhara in 980 and died in 1037 at Hamadan. He is considered one of the most illustrious men the East has ever produced and the most famous physician-philosopher of the Middle Ages. At once, physician, philosopher, astronomer, poet, geologist and statesman Avicenna was one of the intellectual marvels of his age. He wrote about one hundred works, some of which contained up to twenty volumes. He is the author of the most famous medical text-book ever written *al Qanoon fi al-Tibb* (Canon of Medicine), which had a tremendous influence on the evolution of medicine. This great work which included all branches of medical science was the most celebrated medical classic for some six hundred years. It formed an essential part of the medical curriculum of the universities of Europe until the seventeenth century. There are some thirty Latin editions of the Canon. Avicenna wrote an encyclopædia of philosophy entitled *al Shifa* (The Recovery) which included comprehensive treatises on logic, physics, mathematics and metaphysics. He also wrote an interesting treatise on 'The Soul'. In the domain of physics he

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recognized the principle of mechanics that what is gained in power is lost in speed. He carefully systematized psychology and made interesting observations in neurology and psychiatry. In the domain of parasitology, he describes the *Dracuncula medinensis* and made the earliest record of *Ankylostoma*. He discovered the insertion of the eye muscles. He described the origin of mountains and may, therefore, be called the "Father of Geology."

Great strides were made by Islamic medicine in Moorish Spain. Just as Muslim philosophic thought in Spain was already imbued with the breath of that free spirit, which was later to sweep over the whole of Western Europe, so did Islamic medicine in Spain manifest a leaning towards scientific research and a notable tendency in favour of open-minded clinical observation, which went hand in hand with sceptical rejection of unverified tradition. Clinical efficiency was embodied in the family of Ibn Zuhr, from which sprang many eminent physicians during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among them was the most brilliant representative of Islamic medicine in Spain, Abu Maiwan ibn Abil-Ala Zuhr (Avenzoar of the West) who died about 1162 at Seville. His masterpiece, *al-Teisir* (Facilitation of Treatment) abounded in interesting case histories of diseases. He described several new diseases and was a precursor in experimental medicine. He also discovered the itch mite, and advanced the technique of certain surgical operations.

Abul Walid Muhammad ibn Rushd (Averroes of the West) was born in 1126 at Cordova and died at Marrakesh in 1198. He was first and foremost a philosopher, and in a subordinate degree a physician although an excellent one. His numerous and highly important works dealt with philosophy, medicine, philology, jurisprudence and astronomy. As philosopher, Averroes exercised a very profound influence upon the intellectual development of the West, an influence which was exerted chiefly through his celebrated commentaries upon Aristotle. It was these commentaries of the great Arab philosopher introduced into France in the thirteenth century which called the attention of the West to the value of logical thought and, but for that discovery, no foundations could have been laid for the edifice of modern scientific thought and experiment. Averroes also wrote a medical encyclopædia called *al Kulliyāt* (General Principles of Medicine).

The Muslims also beneficially influenced the progress of surgery. The greatest Arab surgeon was Abul Qasim Khalaf ibn Abbas al-Zahrawi (Abulcasis of the West). He was born at al Zahra near Cordova in 936 and died about 1013. His most important work is a great medical encyclopædia called *al Tasrif* which is divided into thirty books. The last portion of this comprehensive work is devoted to surgery. In it Abulcasis united in a methodical and clear manner all the surgical knowledge of his time. This surgical work is remarkable as containing the first

pictorial representations of surgical instruments. More than two hundred pictures illustrated the text. Leclerc says of Abulcasis: "His book will always be considered, in the history of medicine, to represent the first formal and distinct scientific treatise on surgery" It became the leading text-book on surgery in the Middle Ages, and it was most frequently quoted by European medical authors of that period. Abulcasis was a skilful surgeon who infused fresh life into surgery, which was at his time a decadent branch of the healing art. He practised new surgical operations and described original methods of treatment.

Mention should be made of Musa ibn Maimun (Maimonides), the eminent Jewish philosopher and physician who was born at Cordova in 1135. He latter settled in Cairo where he became physician at the court of the famous Sultan Salah al-Din (Saladin). He wrote many medical treatises and philosophical works. He died in 1204.

We may mention the names of some other outstanding medical figures of Spain: Ibnul-Wâfid (Aben Guefit), who flourished in the eleventh century and developed a rational method of treatment, based mainly upon dietetic measures, Ibnul-Khâtîb, of Granada (1313-1374) who wrote a remarkable treatise "On Plague", and Ibn Khâtîma (died 1369), who also wrote about plague.

In ophthalmology a very high level was attained by Muslim oculists. Their operative technique was

extremely advanced. Among the greatest ophthalmologists we must mention Abul Qasim Ammār ibn Ali al-Mawsili (Canamusali of the Latins), who wrote the most original book on Arabian ophthalmology, *al-Muntakhab fi llā, Amrād al Ain* (the Chosen Book on the Treatment of Eye Diseases). He performed the radical operation of the soft cataract by suction through the hollow needle which he himself invented. He was a native of Mosul in Iraq but flourished in Egypt at the court of al Hakim.

Another illustrious eye surgeon was Ali ibn Isa of Baghdad. He is the author of the classical Arabic text book on ophthalmology, called the *Memorandum of Oculists*, which was early translated into Latin and became famous throughout the Muslim world and in Europe.

With regard to dentistry and veterinary medicine, we should mention that the Middle Ages in Europe owed all their knowledge in these sciences to the Muslims.

There were women physicians among the Muslims in the East and in Spain. They were generally specialized in gynecology and midwifery such as, for example, the daughter and grand-daughter of Avenzoar.

The foundation of hospitals is one of the glories of Islamic civilization and is proof of the philanthropic spirit actuating the rulers and wealthy people of Islam. Non Muslim patients were admitted to all hospitals.

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and treated on the same footing as the Muslims. As early as 707 the Caliph al-Walid established infirmaries at Damascus. The Abbaside Caliphs founded many hospitals in Baghdad, examples of those large and highly organized hospitals were the Adudi and the Muqtadiri Hospitals. In Damascus, there were also many well-equipped hospitals, the largest of which was that founded by Sultan Nur al-Din. Like other hospitals in the main centres of Islamic civilization, it was utilized for clinical instruction and possessed a very rich medical library.

Hospital services were admirably organized in Egypt. The largest and most perfectly equipped hospital was that planned and constructed at Cairo in 1283, by Sultan al-Mansur Qalawon. Its organization was something like that of a modern institution with hospital units. Connected with it was a large medical library, a mosque, an academy, an orphanage, a home for convalescents, and a large garden.

Muslims were the first to create special asylums for the insane. The first lunatic asylum was founded in Baghdad in 765. Lunatics were more humanely and efficiently treated in Muslim hospitals than in Western countries, where they used to be considered for a very long time as criminals (Neuburger).

From the ninth to the end of the fourteenth century, the teaching of medicine was well organized in the important centres of learning, in which medical schools were usually connected with hospitals.

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so that clinical instruction might be given at the bedside 'In the city of Baghdad' says Gibbon "860 physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession, in Spain the life of Catholic princes was entrusted to the skill of the Saracens and the School of Salerno their legitimate offspring revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art After a period of medical training the students passed their examinations and a kind of diploma, *Ijaza* was given as a certificate of complete study Many physicians were in specialist practice

In manufactures the Muslims outdid the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship They worked in all the metals and in the making of porcelain, glass-ware jewellery and bookbindings they reached great heights In textile fabrics they have never been surpassed They knew the secrets of dyeing and by their extensive manufacture of paper they greatly contributed to the growth of learning The manufacture of silk, cotton, woollen goods carpets cushions curtains and furniture was very extensive They had many processes of dressing leather and their work was famous throughout Europe In Cordova alone, there were at one time thirteen thousand weavers A city of two hundred thousand houses it was the home of all kinds of leather-workers hence called *cord wainers* in England and *cordouaniers* and *cordonniers* in France Their weapons obtained early fame In Damascus and Toledo steel sword blades were produced of a

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quality unequalled until the nineteenth century. They were inlaid with gold and silver "arabesques". Such articles as these, together with brocades and rugs, ivories and bronzes, armour and leather-work and embroidery, gradually found their way from Spain and Egypt into France and North Italy during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Muslims practised farming in a scientific way, and had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers, and adapted their crops to the quality of the soil. They excelled in horticulture, knowing how to produce new varieties of fruit and flowers. They introduced into the West many trees and plants from the East, and wrote scientific treatises on farming. They grew, prepared, and exported sugar. They advanced the art of enamelling and they used gun-powder.

By the twelfth century, the influence of Islamic civilization stretched from the Iberian Peninsula to India and from the Caspian and Black Seas to the Indian Ocean. It rapidly made itself felt throughout Europe. It was mainly through Spain and also through Southern Italy (particularly at Salerno and in Sicily) that the West imbibed Muslim science and thought.

Petrus Alfonsi (b 1062) who studied at the Arab medical schools, came to England from Spain as physician to King Henry I and, in 1120, collaborated with Walcher, Prior of Malvern, in the production of a translation of Alfonsi's astronomical treatise,

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based upon Arab sources. In England their efforts represent the first impact of Arab learning. Its effect was rapid for, immediately afterwards, Adelard of Bath (1079-1142) earned the distinction of being the first prominent European scientist, outside Spain, to come to Toledo and make a special study of Arab learning. The cultural links thus formed between England and Muslim Spain were destined to produce important results. They stimulated in England the desire for the new philosophical and scientific learning and led to the achievements of Michael Scot (c. 1175-1232) and Roger Bacon (1214-1280).

Scot proceeded to Toledo in order to gain a knowledge of Arabic and of Arab philosophy. At Oxford Roger Bacon achieved brilliant success as an exponent of the new Arabian Aristotelian philosophy. Among those scholars who came to Spain from Britain were Robert of England (flourished about 1143) and Daniel Morley. Roger Bacon's work on optics was based upon the treatises of Ibn al-Haitham (Alhazen).

One of the greatest minds of the Christian Middle Ages was Gerbert of Aurillac (930-1003) who afterwards became the head of Christendom under the name of Pope Sylvester II. He went to Toledo to obtain from the Muslims the knowledge which was lacking in Gothic Europe. After his return to France, he spread the scientific and medical knowledge he had acquired in Spain and taught at Rheims with great success. He transported Islamic science into

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France and Germany and finally into Italy when he became Pope

In 1130, a famous college of translators was established at Toledo, which was in Spanish hands at this time, and under the patronage of Archbishop Raymond it commenced Latin translations of the most celebrated Muslim writers. The success of these translations was considerable, and opened up a new world to Western Europe, and during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this was not relinquished

The most active and prolific translator was Gerard of Cremona (1114-1187). He made over seventy-one translations, twenty-one of which were medical works.

As already pointed out, one of the sources through which Islamic learning passed into Europe was Italy. The most striking intellectual phenomenon of the thirteenth century in Europe was the rise of the universities. And the earliest European institution to develop an organization that can be called a university was the medical school at Salerno, an ancient sea-port in Southern Italy not far from Naples. It was at Salerno that Islamic medical sciences had found their way mainly through the work of the famous Constantine, the African.¹ The cultural influence

¹ Constantine, the African (died in 1037) devoted himself to the translation of Arabic medical works into Latin. He worked until his death at the famous Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino. This monastery was destroyed during the second World War in the battle of Salerno.

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of the Arabs became strongly felt at the school of Salerno in its high period. Out of the Arabic cultural influence together with Greek Latin and Hebrew influences at Salerno emerges the first university in Europe into the light of historic day¹

The cultural influence of the Muslims was also profound in Sicily during the Norman period. The Norman Kings particularly Roger II and Frederic II Hoherstaufen fostered Islamic culture in their realm.

The dominance of Islamic influence in European universities was striking. In 1467 for instance special lectures were given in Western universities on Almansoris of Rhazes. And in a medical textbook by Ferrari, which was printed in 1471 Avicenna is quoted more than 3 000 times Rhazes and Galen 1 000 Hippocrates only 140 times. In the Paris medical faculty an inventory for the year 1395 gives a list of twelve medical volumes nearly all by Muslim authors. Louis XV, always worried about his health was anxious to have in his library the works of Rhazes. The only copy available was lent by the library of the Paris medical school. One of the special advantages that Montpellier had possessed over Paris was said to be its possession of many important manuscripts of Muslim men of science.

¹ The circumstances which determined its development was the happy fusion in Magna Graecia of two distinct cultural traditions Arabian and Renaissance. The school maintained a prominent position for 500 years reached the summit of its fame in the twelfth century and ceased to exist only in 1811, —*The Lancet* February 26 1938

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Emmanuel Deutsch says: "By the aid of the Quran, the Arabs conquered a world greater than that of Alexander the Great, greater than that of Rome, and in as many tens of years as the latter had wanted hundreds to accomplish her conquests; by the aid of which they, alone of all the Semites, came to Europe as kings, whither the Phoenicians had come as tradesmen, and the Jews as fugitives or captives. They came to Europe to hold up the light to humanity, they alone, while darkness lay around, to raise up the wisdom and knowledge of Hellas from the dead, to teach philosophy, medicine, astronomy and the golden art of song to the West as well as to the East, to stand at the cradle of modern science, and to cause us late epigoni for ever to weep over the day when Granada fell."

Max Neuburger says: "Islamic civilization, which, in its prime, surpassed that of ancient Rome in animation and variety, and all its predecessors in comprehensiveness, lasted until the commencement of the eleventh century. In the West, the fall of Cordova (1236) set the seal to its fate; in the East, the Mongol invasion terminated the rule of the Abbasides in Baghdad (1258). Nevertheless, for centuries after this golden age, the achievements of Moorish Spain were by no means inconsiderable, much being accomplished also in Egypt, at which country the Mongols stopped short, whilst even under the rule of the Seljuks and the Mamelukes, intellectual

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aspirations were by no means wholly quenched, and even in the present day may be traced the impress which the Arab epoch left upon the evolution of mankind

CHAPTER VII

THE EXPANSION OF ISLAM

ISLAM, as a religion, spread with remarkable rapidity after the *Hijra* of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. Conversions were born of real religious conviction. The triumph of the Faith inspired the various tribes throughout Arabia, and mass conversions with allegiance to the Prophet took place at Medina. Islam came with its message of unity and righteousness, and its followers were thus bound together in a brotherhood transcending the powerful instinct of the tribe and the strong clan tradition of the Arabs. The old political structure was upset and the new Muslim community became supra national, as distinct from the old tribal units. This establishment of the Faith as the vital bond of the community had a profound significance for the whole future development of Islam. For, the expansion of Islam was due to the religious zeal of the hardy and powerfully united Muslims, who were filled with the conviction that their Faith was of universal significance. They rode forth to battle, united in their desire to spread the Faith the last and the most complete of Divine revelations.

Not as a result of a long process of desiccation in the Arabian Peninsula, not because of drought and

lack of pasture ; not in the term of great migrations of peoples did the Arabs set out to build their world empire "For centuries before the coming of Mohammed," writes H. M. Hyndman¹, "the Arabs had been the poor, proud, hard-living and hard-fighting men of the desert and its oases that they are today. If economic causes and desire for material domination had been their main incentives to war and conquest, there was as much reason for their outbreak, and apparently many better chances of their success, before than after the advent of Mohammed." Religious enthusiasm was the driving force.

The principle of unity, which is both the nucleus and the aim of the Islamic faith and polity, the absolute oneness of the Creator, the unity of administration : religious, civil, judicial and military, all these incorporated together, constituted a most potent factor in uniting the Arabs who betook themselves to conquest Their rising tide could not be stemmed²

The amazing success and the astounding achievements of the Arabs during the period of conquests may be explained by the unifying action of Islam and by the inspiring and all-powerful influence of the Quran, added to this, the dynamic vitality of a young consolidated State led by well-organized men who had unbounded confidence in their cause From the

¹ Op cit p 10

² Cf Mohammed Abdallah Enan *Mawāqif Hāsımah fı Tārıkh al-Islam* (Decisive Moments in the History of Islam) Arabic, Cairo, 1929, pp 10-16

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Commander-in Chief of the well organized Muslim armies down to the simple warrior, all devoted their lives entirely to the sublime cause of the Faith. Furthermore the conditions in the Persian and Byzantine Empires practically invited conquest. In Persia which was exhausted by repeated wars there was a profound state of anarchy while under Byzantine rule the subject races of Syria, Palestine and Egypt were under a cross fire of persecutions and oppressions. The advancing Arabs encountered everywhere people chafing under Byzantine misrule. The Constantinople government was decadent and corrupt and the clergy sided with the heads of a decaying empire against the poor and the oppressed. The schism between the Eastern Churches and Rome, the hair-splitting controversies over creeds and dogma made men sigh for a simpler faith and when Islam appeared it found a soil prepared for the seed of the Quran. It was no wonder that in many cases the people made common cause with the conquerors against their Greek rulers. In fact people hailed the Arabs as their liberators from a detested rule.

In proclaiming the unity and essential greatness of God, Islam was putting forth an idea that grew in the minds of men into a profound conviction. Its easily intelligible theology appealed to them as an immense relief from the complexity of the then prevailing Christian teachings.

As Haidar Bammate (Georges Rivoire) remarks

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in his recent and excellent Book "*Visages de l'Islam*" "Islam brought the promise of liberation and salvation to the physically suffering and morally disjointed masses, suppressed under the yoke of often times foreign masters. It announced thus a new era of charity and justice.

"The universal state, the construction of which Islam undertook, recognized no distinctions of race, nor of social conditions, the only rule it insisted upon was equal justice and fraternity.

"It cannot be too often repeated, Muhammad was not only the Prophet of a great religion which has met the spiritual needs of a world thirsting for pure monotheism, but he was also, and some may say particularly, the proclaimer of one of the greatest social and international revolutions that history has ever known. It cannot be doubted that, it is particularly this popular and revolutionary side of the teaching of the Prophet, that gained for Islam the hearts of the masses and assured to it a very great power of expansion."

The Quran declares: "There is no compulsion in religion" Everywhere the subject races were allowed freedom of worship, non-Muslims obtained under the tolerant rule of the conquerors, security for their religious beliefs, their lives, their honour, and their property. Only the extinct Arab paganism was excluded, for, Islam cannot tolerate paganism or poly-

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theism¹

"In their wars of conquest" says E. Alexander Powell "the Muslims exhibited a degree of toleration which puts many Christian nations to shame"²

Fair and just dealing, moderate taxation, orderly government, and security for the vanquished made them go over to the new faith by millions. G. D. H. Cole and M. I. Cole write that "the fact that so much of our mediæval history is derived from writers of the Christian Church who were bitterly hostile to Islam has hidden from the ordinary reader the fact that Moslem rule was neither oppressive nor unenlightened. Further, the Moslems were friends to learning—it was not Moslems, but monks who burnt the great Greek library at Alexandria"³

Gustave Le Bon says in his *Civilisation des Arabes* "Far from having been imposed by force the Quran has only been spread by persuasion. Only persuasion could have led those peoples which later on conquered the Arabs such as the Turks and Mongols, to adopt it."

1. A Christian observer has expressed the opinion that "religious tolerance does not necessarily mean tolerance of all kinds of religions, as Mohammed's example shows. Primitive religions such as those of the Navajos, are not on a par with advanced religions such as those most current in civilised communities today. Tolerance toward advanced religion is quite compatible with intolerance toward inferior and primitive religions by whose elimination the people would themselves benefit."—Homer H. Dubin in *The Christian Century* January 2, 1935.

2. *The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia* p. 43.

3. *The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today* (1933) p. 31.

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With astonishing rapidity the Arabs subdued the greater part of the old world. The first stage of their marvellous procession of victory took place under the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmân, and Ali: Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, and Persia were conquered. Under the Omayyads, the second stage of expansion of Islam was entered upon. Armenia, Transoxania, Afghanistan, the Indus area and Central Asia were subdued in the East and North Africa and Spain in the West. During the Abbaside period the expansion of Islam went on very actively. The growing Muslim Empire extended its influence further and further: beyond the Iberian Peninsula into France from the Pyrenees to the Alps, till Burgundy and the Loire, in Switzerland, when the Arabs took possession of the Valais and of the Grisons they even came up to the border-shores of Lake Lemman; into Tyrol and Lombardy. The influence of Islam expanded so as to include, besides the territories mentioned, Turkey, China, India, Malaisia, and Indonesia. Already in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijra, the expansion of Islam had attained the extent shown in the present-day Orient.

After a century of brilliant splendour, the Abbaside State began to disintegrate. Later, the reorganization of the Islamic State became the work of the Seljuke dynasty. The Seljukes invaded Asia Minor towards the end of the eleventh century. Their policy of liberating the slaves made the Seljuke Muslims better masters than the Byzantine Chris-

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tians They rendered a great service to the Islamic State, because, at a critical moment they reunited in a single realm a vast area stretching from Afghanistan to the Mediterranean, and renewed in it the military ardour which marked the earlier ages of Islam

As a consequence of the Mongol invasion, Baghdad was sacked by Hulagu, a grandson of Chenghiz in 1258 and the last of the Abbaside Caliphs tortured to death Damascus and Antioch fell and Hulagu advanced to within a week's march of Constantinople Hulagu and his successors were unchallenged masters of Persia, and Mesopotamia which they ruled for three generations under the title of Ilkhans Influenced by the Islamic culture with which they came into contact, they became Muslims Through the civilizing influence of Islam, those successors of Chenghiz Khan and Hulagu gave up the barbarian traditions and became patrons of arts and letters Their architects built stately mosques and their painters laid the foundations of the Persian miniatures, which were used to ornament the verses of the poets

The fall of the empire ruled by the Seljuks brought about by the Mongol invasion from the East enabled the vigorous Ottoman Turks to become the dominant Power in Asia Minor and to extend their conquests and possessions into eastern Europe Othman the founder of the Ottoman dynasty appeared on the scene of action in the year 1300 and he and his successors dealt crushing blows to the Byzantines and

replaced them. The Ottoman Sultans made themselves the strongest rulers of the Islamic world, and played the rôle of the former Caliphs of Baghdad. Great military skill enabled the Ottoman Turks to continue their triumphant advance over Europe and Asia, and with them, Islam expanded all over the Balkan peninsula. This expansion which carried the Turkish armies up the Danube as far to the west as Vienna, ultimately stopped, when the Turks made their last attack on that city in 1683 and were defeated. From the seventeenth century onwards, the political power of the Ottoman Empire gradually declined.

The Turks, though famous as magnificent warriors, have also produced savants of the first order in the domain of positive sciences. Thus we learn from a recent work by Dr. 'Abdülhak Adnan (*La Science chez les Turcs Ottomans*. Paris, 1939) that Oïkhan Bey and Lala Shahin (1330) were the founders of the first Turkish colleges at Nicea and Broussa, and that Sultan Muhammad II the Conqueror (1451-1481) developed university education and created the first great Turkish hospital and medical centre. The Turkish golden age witnessed the production of scientific works by eminent mathematicians like Ali Kouchdjı and Sinan Pasha. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Turkey produced a long series of scientists, the most outstanding among whom was Hajı Khalıfa (Katib Tshelebi), a brilliant genius of encyclopædic knowledge. His great geographical

work *Jihannuma* (Mirror of the World) and his famous bibliography, *Kashf az-Zunjin* have been translated and used by many European savants. Twenty other volumes were written by this Peking Turkish scientist of the seventeenth century.

Another great Islamic Empire in the East was that of the Moghuls in India. Already in 714 A.D. the Arabs had conquered the frontier province of Sind and made it part of the Islamic Empire. But the Muslim impact on Northern India came down from the north-west at the beginning of the eleventh century. The kingdom of Ghazna which was founded by the Turk Sabuktigin, was then a flourishing centre of Islamic learning. Mahmud son of Sabuktigin maintained a rich and cultured court at Ghazna, he fostered Persian literature and encouraged scholars and scientists. He made his first expedition into India in 1001, and defeated the Raja of the Punjab. Subsequent expeditions were led by a series of Moghul Tartar and Afghan chiefs. Muhammad of Ghor, who captured Ghazna in 1150 was the first conqueror to extend the permanent rule of Islam beyond the frontier provinces of the Punjab and Sind. Bengal was rapidly conquered and it remained under Muslim rule for nearly six centuries. When Muhammad of Ghor was assassinated in 1206 he was succeeded by Qutbeddin—originally a slave from Turkestan. He ruled the Indian provinces as Sultan of Delhi. The tide of Muslim conquest flowed onwards till 1340. Later, the Moghul emperor Akbar

extended Muslim rule over the greater portion of India between 1556 and 1605. His rule was famous for its remarkable tolerance. Akbar's ideal was reflected in his steadfast endeavour to establish mutual tolerance among the creeds of India, and thus obliterate the rifts between its masses. The empire of the Moghuls in India experienced a period of great splendour during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and then declined steadily.

One of the consequences of the establishment of the Mongol empire of Chenghiz Khan and his successors was the further expansion of Islam into China, Siberia, and Russian Turkestan up to the Urals. As already stated, the culture of Islam absorbed the Mongol conquerors fairly rapidly, and the Islamic religion was embraced by the great variety of ethnic composition of their empire which comprised the Iranian, Turkish, and Mongol tribes of Eurasia. Islam continued to expand far into Russia, round the Caspian Sea and in the Caucasus.

According to oriental tradition, the infiltration of Islam into remote China began as early as the first half of the seventh century. Later, Muslim traders and artisans from Arabia and Iran went to China both by land and by sea and settled there. With the rise of the Mongol empire there was a gradual but progressive expansion of Islam in China, including Mongolia and Manchukuo. Large blocks of Muslim population exist in Yunnan, Sinkiang, Shensi, and Kansu.

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It was also mainly through traders from Arabia Persia and India that Islam penetrated into the Malay Archipelago, during the second half of the thirteenth century. The Muslims who came to these islands settled there for their commerce and married native women who speedily adopted their religion. Little by little small Muslim centres were formed, to which the natives adhered attracted by the religion which took them away from the caste system and because of other social and moral advantages. Islam continued to spread and gain political power.

It was by the extreme north-western point of Sumatra that Islam reached Indonesia. Ibn Battutah the famous Arab explorer, tells us that during his voyage from Hindustan to China (1345-1346) he was the guest of the Sultan of Sumatra, the only Muslim state of this region at that time. During the fourteenth century Islam spread along the whole eastern coast. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Islam expanded along the southern coast and profoundly into the interior of the Island. One of the earliest and most important Muslim centres in Indonesia was the state of Atjeh in the western part of Sumatra. This state only disappeared in 1874.

The penetration of Islam into Java began from the East about the end of the fourteenth century, and as time went on, the entire island came under Muslim domination. The progress of Islam spread to other islands. Madura the Celebes Borneo, the Molluccas and New Guinea (sixteenth century). The

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Malay States came under the influence of Islam at the same time as Java. Islamic blocs were also formed in Siam and Indo-China.

Islam reached the Philippine Islands in 1380, and a large group of Muslims established itself mainly in the Sulu Island.

Islam acquired also a mighty influence in Africa. Consequent upon the Arab domination of North Africa, Islam gradually but continuously spread into the interior of the Dark Continent, both from the North and from the East. Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, several Muslim states came into being, particularly at Timbuctu, which became famous as a centre of Islamic culture. In those days, one of the foremost collections of Arabic classic manuscripts in existence was assembled at Timbuctu, which was at the same time a flourishing economic centre. Muslim scholars, Negroes, Sudanese, Arabs, and Moors, studied and taught in that wealthy and brilliant city.

The Arabs who had dominated the trade of East Africa, overran Madagascar early in the ninth century and introduced Islam into that island. During the subsequent centuries, important Arab groups settled in different parts of Madagascar and left descendants who are to be found in the extreme north, the north-west, and the south. The town of Majunga was founded by the Arabs in the year 1700.

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At the beginning of the present century an English observer T R Threlfall wrote 'Islam is making marvellous progress in the interior of Africa. It is crushing paganism out. Against it the Christian propaganda is a myth'.¹ Today, over half of the total population of Africa is Muslim.

In south eastern Europe the Turkish conquests from the fifteenth century onwards spread the Muslim faith far and wide. But although the Ottoman Empire eventually declined and lost its Balkan possessions important blocs of Muslim populations continued to exist in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Western Thrace, while in Albania Muslims are in the vast majority. In Yugoslavia Muslims form a little more than ten per cent of the total population. This Muslim community may be divided into two main compact blocs: the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the other in Southern Serbia. The remainder of the Muslims is distributed over Montenegro, Northern Serbia and other parts of the country as small groups. Their main cultural centres are Sarajevo in Bosnia and Skoplje (Uskub) in Southern Serbia. In Bosnia the Muslims are mainly Slavs in origin, while in Northern Serbia they are of Turkish extraction, with an Albanian admixture. But both of them speak the Serbian language as their medium of expression even though they learn Arabic in their schools for the purpose of religious practices.

¹ *Nineteenth Century* March 1900

Before the Second World War, a small Muslim group existed in the northern part of Poland. It was mainly composed of descendants of the Tartars who invaded Poland and Lithuania in the fourteenth century. A great number of those followers of Islam distinguished themselves as soldiers and officers in the Polish army after the First World War. Another small Muslim community emigrated from Russia after the outbreak of the Russian revolution to settle in Finland. Many of them engage in trade.

Finally, in the New World, there are small groups of Muslims who emigrated from the East since the last century and settled in the United States and in South America.

During the present century, organizations for the propagation of Islam have been set up mainly in India, by men eager to advance the peaceful spread of Islam in many parts of the world.

Since its rise, fourteen centuries ago, Islam has followed a course of mighty expansion which continued uninterrupted down to the present day despite the political misfortunes which befell the Islamic world in the course of time. The teachings of Islam are still spreading, particularly among the coloured races to which Islam insures a higher social and cultural status. This continuous spread of Islam has enormous repercussions on the social structure and the culture of the people who accept its faith. For it levels social strata, transcends national and ethnic particularities,

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and creates a spiritual unity. The Muslim feels at home in all lands of Islam, he may well say '*ubi bene, ibi patria*'. And his religion endows him with a characteristic personal dignity which explains the remark once made by an eminent English barrister who had lived in the East and later became King's counsel and member of the British Parliament. 'The Muslim is the only man who can be a servant with obedience and prompt efficiency and still make you feel that he is your equal. And as Islam stands for complete submission to the will of God it brings the Muslim a constant support and a certainty in adversity and amidst the world's storms and conflicts. The faith of Islam makes the soul of man safe for God.'

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAM

THE marvellous vigour of Islam has impressed men's minds ever since the days when its energies bore its victorious banner from Spain to China. But with the passing cycles of time this fervour has waned and, during the eighteenth century, Islam seemed plunged into the stupor of decadence. With the decline of the Muslim Empire, Islamic culture was rapidly falling into decay. The learned theologians, the *Ulema*, sought knowledge in a limited sphere of the Islamic religion, as they conceived it, and not in the universally liberating and light giving religion of the Quran. Instead of being sagacious and broad-minded thinkers, the *Ulema* developed into a rigid and static body of fanatics who under the various names of *Khojas*, *Mullas*, *Pirs*, and *Faqirs*, were misleading the masses by a narrow and intolerant religious teaching. Gone were the days when enlightened and resolute Muslims made shrewd friendship with the malcontent Christians among the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire, with the persecuted Jews in Spain and with the followers of other creeds in India. It came about that the *Ulema*, who ought to have been the guardians of the true tradition and teaching of Islam gradually confined their attention

to the minor details of the religious ritual, and this was a serious departure from the principles of the Sacred Law

Islam enjoins upon its followers the duty of acquiring knowledge unceasingly 'from the cradle to the grave', but they neglected this injunction during the centuries of decadence of Islamic culture. The pursuit of the natural sciences had been abandoned; and the former centres of learning sank into a low state of mediæval scholasticism. The Muslim countries cultivated a reactionary conservatism and the great masses were veiled in widespread ignorance, and, in consequence, resented all innovations and progress. Since the Muslims neglected to adhere closely to their religion, they lost their heroic spirit and gave up striving; they neglected the education of their sons, and more so of their daughters. They did not keep up that progress and universal culture which their ancestors, under the impetus of the Quran, had achieved. They were drifting from the lofty ideals of their Faith, and the weakening of the sense of solidarity and unity of the Muslim peoples was increasingly felt. No stirring of new life and thought seemed to take place

Muslim society became deformed and its moral standard was low. An accumulation of senseless superstitious practices prevailed as a result of ignorance, and pristine faith waned. Women were shut into their secluded dwellings; and outside their homes they were heavily veiled. A terribly low

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state of education and training especially among women, was the inevitable result. And as science ceased to play any important part in the studies of Muslims no progress was to be expected¹. The masses were possessed by a spirit of acquiescence which had become sufficiently prevalent to ensure general stagnation and economic backwardness in Muslim countries. In Western Christendom, on the contrary, the people were throwing off the narrow shackles of ecclesiasticism and scholasticism and their advance in the material field was as surprising in its way as had been the conquests—material and spiritual—of the early Muslims when they obeyed the injunctions and tenets of their Sacred Law.

In those times of decadence it seemed as if the Muslim peoples were standing outside history, instead of moving along in it. The Muslim East seemed to be sunk into a deep gloom, stunted in intellectual outlook and sterile in scientific and artistic achievements.

An important factor which contributed to the decline of the Muslims was the growth of a false sense of superiority and security based historically on the dazzling conquests and remarkable achievements of Islam. The Muslim countries were dozing off in the rapidly declining afternoon of Islam, and they were ignoring or viewing with disdain the new discoveries and highly developed technique of the

¹ Cf. Emir Chekib Arslan, *Lima a ta akkhira al Muslimin* (Why did Muslims decline?) Arabic, Cairo 1930.

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Western world The Islamic world bolted its door and then brooded in a delicious seclusion or, to use a modern expression, in a splendid isolation, while the terrible shadow of the West was creeping nearer.

Another serious factor which was responsible for the backwardness of the Muslim countries was the malignant influence of autocracy. Despots ruled in safety over ignorant, superstitious and apathetic masses, which seemed to forget that their rulers were responsible to their subjects or that they had duties as well as rights. The viziers and other high officials assisted, through corruption, in maintaining the supreme position of tyrannic, selfish and self-seeking rulers. Even ignorant and submissive *Ulema* often acquiesced in face of the depravity of unworthy rulers and chiefs. Further, the Islamic countries were divided among contending autocratic despots.

The discovery of the Eastern Trade route to India, and the route to America, with the attending factors of the grab for material wealth by the Western nations, together with the rise of industrialism and of ocean transport, finally eclipsed the world of Islam.

All through the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the political power of Islam became immeasurably weakened, and the Muslim states were falling, one by one, before the assaults of the Western Powers. The profound neglect of military training, which is implicitly enjoined upon Muslims by *Shari'ah*, had disastrous consequences, for there was no well-

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organized Muslim force that could oppose an efficient resistance to the powerful imperialist Powers

Yet lethargy and stagnation are not Islamic principles they were mainly of a political and of an economic character And so there have been outbreaks of vigorous activity and new religious stirrings which showed quite clearly that there was a general dissatisfaction with the religious and moral corruptions of the time

Already in the thirteenth century Ibn Taymiya arose as the outspoken opponent of these corruptions But five centuries passed before his work bore real fruit In the course of the eighteenth century, Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab a native of Najd in Central Arabia, undertook to restore the earlier conditions of Islam, for he rightly assumed that the primitive form of religion was the purest and the best and he aimed at a revival of the genuine traditions of Islam Like his master, Ibn Taymiya by whose teachings he was influenced, he roused the Muslims to eradicate vice and to abolish innovations contrary to the original Islam It was about the year 1740 that Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab began his campaign for religious reform He reacted against unworthy modes of religious worship and corruption in belief Islam was in danger, and the faith must be purified if the glory of Islam were to be revived In order to restore Islam to the golden age of the Prophet and his Companions he preached the return to the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet

(Sunnah) This puritan reformer who founded Wahhabism did everything to restore the austere simplicity of the early Islam. The Wahhabi movement has been virtually the clinical sign of a religious revolution. It was a vigorous expression of the waxing popular revolt against the decay of faith and practices, rather than a creation of a new sect.

Under the Sa'ud dynasty, which succeeded Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab, the Wahhabi State was successfully established in Najd and later, after a series of victorious campaigns, Ibn Sa'ud, the present King of Arabia, conquered the Hijaz and extended his authority over inland Arabia.

The Wahhabi movement spread beyond the frontiers of Arabia and gave rise to similar actions inspired by it, in India, Africa and in Malaya. Even the famous Sanussi movement owes its beginnings to Wahhabi inspiration.

In the course of the nineteenth century, other movements of reform appeared in the Muslim world. Religious revival was rightly considered essential for the improvement of the social and political conditions of the Muslim peoples.

The Muslims of India were pioneers in the cultural revival of Islam. A movement for religious reform was initiated by Sayyid Ahmad Barelawi (born 1782) who adopted the Wahhabi teachings and methods, but he was killed in a battle against the Sikhs in 1831.

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The real renaissance however, came into existence under the leadership of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who was born in 1817 at Delhi. He proved himself no less the enemy of the decay of learning and the backward state of education than the leader of a revival of Muslim society in India. He was a whole-hearted advocate of modern education and of bringing the thought and life of the Muslims into harmony with the modern age. His great achievement was the foundation in 1875 of the famous Muslim College at Aligarh which subsequently developed into the Aligarh University. His liberal policy aimed at the establishment of an educational system for Muslims which should encourage the assimilation of modern Western science and learning and at the same time foster the sound growth of Muslim religious and cultural ideals among the students¹

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was also the moving spirit of a remarkable literary movement in Urdu, which transformed that language into a strong living medium admirably suited for all modern literary and scientific purposes. Thanks to the great impetus, which he and his co-workers and disciples, such as Shibli Numani, Chiragh Ali Hali, and Nazir Ahmad imparted to the progress of Urdu literature, the influence of the Aligarh centre of learning upon the

¹ Cf. A. Waheed *The Evolution of Muslim Education* Lahore pp. 90-94

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cultural life of Indian Muslims has steadily increased¹

The rational and modernist method of approach to theological matters which Sir Sayyid Ahmad advocated, found full expression in the works of men who came after him, particularly Sayyid Ameer Ali, in his well-known book, *The Spirit of Islam*. Another representative of the liberal tendency was S Khuda Bukhsh, the author of *Essays, Indian and Islamic*

In connection with the development of the Aligarh movement, two important institutions should be mentioned: the *Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam* (Society for the Defence of Islam), in the Punjab, and the *Nadwat-ul-Ulema* (Theological Council) at Lucknow. Both these organizations have done valuable work for the religious progress of the Muslims in Northern India

In contemporary Muslim India, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the great philosopher-poet, played a most striking rôle of a reformist and whose idea and works have deeply inspired a school of young religious reformists and political thinkers in India. This most-gifted son of Muslim India, and distinguished graduate of Cambridge and Munich, wished to see his co-religionists becoming inspired with the lofty and generous ideals of the early great Muslims of the epoch of the first four Caliphs, but in the most modern garb

1 For full information consult S M. Abdullah, *Urdu Prose under the influence of Sir Sayyid*, Lahore, 1940

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Iqbal was born in Sialkot, in the Punjab in 1873. His mind had drunk deeply from the springs of Islamic culture, and it was also nurtured by the philosophy and modern science of the West. His genius was characterized by the greatness of his poetry, the universality of his culture and by the originality of his scientific mind. As a poet, he delivered his veritable message in two remarkable works in Persian, *Pam-i-Mashuq* (Message of the East) which is considered as an answer and parallel to Goethe's *West-östlicher Diwan*¹ and *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self)². They are both profoundly philosophical and reveal Iqbal as a truly great poet. His verses constantly sound the note of sublime spirituality.

But the greatest gift of Sir Muhammad Iqbal to the Islamic world was his invaluable work on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*,³ in which the learned reformer to use his own words "tried to meet, even though partially, this urgent demand for a scientific form of religious knowledge, by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge." To give a proper idea of the value of this work of Sir Muhammad we can do no better than quote the following passage

1 Partially translated into English in *Islamica* I (1974)

2 This work was translated from the original Persian by the Orientalist R. A. Nicholson in 1970

3 New edition 1934 (Oxford University Press)

from a review of it by a distinguished Western scholar, especially because it alludes to Western-Islamic relationships :

" Sir Muhammad Iqbal is not as well known, except for a small *élite*, in the Western world as he deserves to be . . . Muhammad Iqbal may not be a historian, but he is a theological and religious philosopher of the very first excellence, a diamond mine of extraordinary quality . Since he is a Muslim, this is not as easy for the West to recognize, as in the case of the more abstruse and obscure Tagore, the no less keen but far more odd Gandhi . The West has been discovering thinkers to its fancy, speakers to its meetings, men publicised with Hollywood press agent adjectives with a religious, philosophical, political, quasi-scientific turn, in India, China, Japan. Here is something more exquisite and astonishing for the West to discover, a truly modern Muslim, the equal, to say the least, of the finest in the West in every noticeable respect.

" It were a pity to take from any Western reader the joy of discovering for himself by summing up this man for him . No man in the Christian world deserves to be called modern, up-to-date or choose your own adjective who has not yet discovered Muhammad Iqbal, and no book of Sir Muhammad's is better adapted to making his acquaintance than this." ¹

1 Martin Sprengling in *Christendom*, Chicago, Autumn, 1936

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Iqbal demonstrated the necessity of establishing the religious system of Islam upon solid foundations and of rationalizing it without deforming its spiritual and imperishable heritage, for Islam is dynamic and evolutionary

Eminently universalist and fundamentally devout, Muhammad Iqbal was sincere, simple and unworldly in his habits and so entirely free from bitterness and rancour, that his personality won him the admiration of all his contemporaries. He died on April 21 1938 in Lahore¹

Turning to Turkey we find among the religious reformists who reacted against the degradation of Muslim society the figure of Prince Said Halim. He was an enlightened statesman who insisted on the supremacy of the Islamic Law '*Shari'ah*', in the true Islamic State and society. His advice on reform was not to *europalashmaq* (europeanize) but to *islam-lashmaq* (islamize) Muslim society. He laid stress on the necessity for the Muslim peoples to acquire modern sciences and techniques and to seek to utilize the immense sources of nature and thus achieve material prosperity²

Another Turkish reformist was Ziya Gökalp the spiritual leader of Turkish nationalism. His

1 For detailed information about Iqbal's work and philosophy consult: *Aspects of Iqbal* Qaumī Kutub Khana Lahore 1938 K. G. Salyidain *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy* Lahore third edition 1945 Victor Courtols *Sir Muhammad Iqbal poète philosophe et apologiste indien* in *E Terre d'Islam* IVe trimestre 1938

2 Cf. his articles in the review *Orient et Occident* 1921

ideas were a directing force in the new intellectual stirrings in Turkey, they were expounded in a series of articles which appeared first in Turkish under the title of *İslamîyet ve asrî medenîyet* (Islam and modern Civilization), and thereafter, in a French translation, in the review *La Pensée Turque*¹. He shows that the culture of Islam can well agree with modern civilization and that the true Islamic State is a really modern state. According to Zıya Gök Alp, the Turkish state should be modern in its civilization and Islamic in its culture.

Among the nineteenth century reformers, the famous Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897) exercised a considerable influence on the intellectual movements in various parts of the Islamic world. It was particularly in Egypt, where he spent the years 1871 to 1879 that his influence found full expression.

To his political opposition to autocracy, Jamal-ud-Din added the righteous indignation of a religious reformer, denouncing foreign aggression and interference, and declaring the religion of Islam to be thoroughly capable, by reason of its spiritual force, to adapt itself to the changing conditions of life. To him a political revolution seemed to be the quickest and surest way of securing for the Muslim peoples the freedom, required to enable them to set their own house in order.

Jamal-ud-Din was a great exponent of pan-Islamism, his chief aim was the accomplishment of

¹ Nos 5-9, 1917

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the unification of the Muslim peoples under one Islamic government, just as in the glorious past of Islam before its political power had been dissipated in dissensions. He believed that once the Muslim countries were freed from the incubus of foreign domination, they would be able to work out for themselves a new and glorious order of affairs.

The ceaseless activities of this remarkable man who was also a scholar of great learning encompassed a great number of the lands of Islam and thus Afghanistan Persia India Egypt and Turkey all at one time or another experienced his potent contact and were affected by it. His efforts led to a genuine awakening which expressed itself not only in religious reform but also in an intellectual and literary revival and in political developments which have given evidence of a growing spirit of nationalism. Reforming impulses were set in motion and since the beginning of the present century have accomplished systematic success.

The reformist and modernist movement in Egypt has taken a definite form during the last quarter of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905). It constituted an attempt to free religion from the shackles of a rigid legalism and to accomplish reforms which will render it adaptable to the complex demands of modern life. Muhammad Abduh perpetuated in Egypt the spirit and ideals of his teacher Jamal ud Din. The reform impulse thus developed in Egypt by Muhammad

Abduh has persisted until the present day. His ideas and teachings made themselves felt among the educated classes of Egypt and other Muslim countries.¹

Of all the pupils of Muhammad Abduh Rashid (Syrian by nationality) was the most talented disciple and, since Abduh's death, the one who principally carried on his tradition and interpreted his doctrines. He founded and edited the famous *al-Manār* review in Cairo, as the mouthpiece for the propagation of his teachings and the accomplishment of his reforms. Rashid Rida ably represented the modernist view of contemporary Muslim theologians and advocated practical measures for the achievement of a regeneration of Islam. He died in Cairo in 1935.²

To the school of modernists which developed in Egypt, Farid Wajdy, the present editor of *al-Azhar Review*, counts among its outstanding representatives, while the Salafi movement of reform which aims at a religious renaissance, according to the best Muslim tradition, is led by Muhibeddin al-Khatib, the founder and editor of *al-Fat'h* in Cairo, an Islamic weekly, which is widely known throughout the Muslim world.

1 For an exhaustive study of the lives and works of Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh see Charles Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, London, 1934 and *Biography of Imam Muhammad Abduh*, (Arabic, 3 Vols) by Rashid Rida. For miscellaneous items about reform movements Cf. Muhammad Lutfi Goumah, *Hayat ash-Sharq* (Life in the East), Arabic, Cairo, 1932, pp. 35-39.

2 Cf. *Biography of Rashid Rida* (Arabic) by Emir Chekib Arslan.

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Again, in another Arab country, Syria there arose towards the close of the 19th century, influential pioneers of Arab awakening and Muslim unity.¹ There were two figures, in particular who led the way. Taher al Jazari, a learned scholar and a leader of thought who undertook the task of spreading Arab culture and establishing educational centres throughout the country, and Abdurrahman al-Kawakibi who most vigorously denounced despotism in his book *Tabāi' al Istibdād* (Characteristics of Despotism) and stirringly preached a general Islamic revival in his famous book *Umm al Qura* (The Mother of Cities i.e. Mecca). In this latter work al-Kawakibi imagined a universal Muslim congress assembled in Mecca, in which delegates from all quarters of the Islamic world discussed the problems of reform and the general awakening of the Muslim peoples.

One of the most distinguished personalities in contemporary Arab and Islamic awakening is Emir Chekib Arslan. He was born in the Lebanon in 1870 a descendant of an illustrious Arab family. While still young he became a deputy to the Ottoman Parliament at Istanbul and during the First World War he was charged with diplomatic missions by Ottoman Turkey. From his earliest days in public life he had been a staunch advocate of Arab freedom and general Muslim solidarity. He was one of the

¹ Cf. Muhibeddin al Khatib. The Arabs are awakening to assume their mission in *al Fatah*. Vol. XVII. No. 823.

prominent figures in the pan-Arab movement and became its main representative in Europe after the end of the First World War. In the early 1920's he took up residence in Geneva, which became the main centre of his activities. He unceasingly put the case of Syria, the Lebanon, and Palestine before the League of Nations and European public opinion. He founded and edited in French; *La Nation Arabe*, a powerful political organ, which continued to appear in Geneva until the early years of the late war.

Emir Chekib Arslan, who was an indefatigable worker and a prolific writer, possessed an extensive learning and a great critical and expository power, which won him, in the Arab world, the title of *Amir-ul-Bayān* (Prince of Rhetoric). In view of his great services to Arab literature, as an author and a fine poet, he was elected President of the Arab Academy at Damascus. Moreover, he was a vigilant defender of Islam against its foes and a determined opponent of European imperialism in the Islamic world. His views and political writings acted as potent spurs to the revival and the reinforcement of the national spirit and determination among the Arab peoples from Tangier to Basra. An influential writer, an erudite historian, and a remarkable politician, Emir Chekib Arslan left numerous political, literary, and historical works. Despite old age, he continued to work until he left Geneva, in October 1946, for the Lebanon on a visit to his family. There he died at Beirut on December 9, 1946.

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Another important Muslim figure Ismail Bey Gasprinski rose in the later half of the nineteenth century in Southern Russia. In his newspapers *Terdjuman* and *Millet*, which were published at Bagchaserai in the Crimea he pleaded the cause of cultural and social reform of the Islamic countries. He also toured a great portion of the Islamic world with the intention of proposing the holding of a universal Islamic congress to deal with all problems of reform.

During its evolution, the Islamic world has thus experienced throughout the nineteenth century a great and widely disseminated movement of religious and cultural reform. But this same century has also been characterized by the great colonial conquests of the Western Powers which pursued an aggressive policy in Asia and Africa. This foreign domination which continued into the present century led to the rise of nationalism in the Islamic countries. This phenomenon goes hand in hand with a striving for a spiritual, moral and intellectual unity of Islam.

A keen Western critic¹ has recently posed the question: May nationalism be considered to be a departure from Islam? But he goes on to point out that the political path demanded by the present, is nationalism with the object of attaining the political freedom of the Islamic countries under its banner, and that the Muslim peoples do not consider this tendency to be in opposition to a profound allegiance

¹ Richard Hartmann. *Die nationalitischen Tendenzen im Islam* in the Swiss monthly review *Nationale Hefte* May 1943

to the Islamic Faith. He concludes by remarking that the crisis or dilemma of 'Islam or nationalism' has been overcome by the parole 'Islam and nationalism.'

The recent growth of nationalism in Muslim countries should be regarded as a defensive reaction against the aggression and domination of foreign Powers, and as a consequence of the concept that, for a free evolution of Islam, complete emancipation from foreign interference and influence is absolutely necessary. Therefore it is natural for the Islamic countries, at their present stage of evolution, to see in nationalism a source of strength and power. However, once liberation is achieved, this transitory phase of nationalism will be bound to cede its place to the international ordering of Islamic society. The Muslims cannot squander their great heritage of spiritual culture in an attempt to imitate the existing state of aggressive European nationalism. The detrimental effects of extreme forms of nationalism are too obvious to be stressed.

But even then, despite this present nationalism in Muslim countries, Islam is certainly more homogeneous and possesses more cultural unity than Europe. In the Arab world, which constitutes a large section of Islam, there is one single great written and spoken language which embodies an extraordinarily rich literary and philosophical tradition and is accessible to all educated people all over the world of Islam. This is the Arabic language, the common spoken

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and written language the *lingua franca* for some seventy millions from Morocco to the Persian Gulf

Arabic is easily the fourth most important language in the world at present. It is also a supra-national medium for, it is the religious language for the whole Islamic world. It has survived all foreign invasions throughout historic times. And the fact that very many Arabic words have found their way into the languages of Western Europe and that Arabic permeated all levels of the Spanish vocabulary bear testimony to the immense prestige this language enjoyed in the West during the high period of Islamic civilization.

In other ways the differences between various parts of Europe e.g. in the structure of society and political ideals, are very much greater than between different parts of Islam. In its spiritual, social and cultural institutions Islam is far more a unity at present than is Europe as a whole.

With regard to the new forces that are stirring the Muslim East, the leaders of religious revival and the intellectual classes are aware of the drift of the Western world from spiritual values and of the disintegrating influence of materialism. Far from ignoring the necessity of material prosperity for insuring the progress of Islamic countries, they reject a materialistic outlook which undermines culture and is contrary to the Islamic tenets.

As already stressed, the apparent compromising of the reformist religious movement with the pene-

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trating nationalistic tendency which is, at the present stage, a strong factor in the evolution of Islamic countries, should be understood in terms of a transitory phase. There are today separate movements towards a reform of religious traditions and a readjustment to the complex conditions of the new age, but all recognize the necessity of loyalty to the Quran and the genuine Tradition of the Prophet. In spite of nationalism, which is used as a defensive weapon, a Muslim will always consciously or unconsciously put Islam before his nationality and this should be considered a great virtue. In the present, as well as in the future, the Islamic Faith will continue to inspire the further social, cultural and political development of Muslim countries. Beyond all doubt the religious tie, which is the profoundest and most powerful tie that binds the Muslim peoples together, in spite of racial, linguistic and ethnic differences, will persist as the principle of the future evolution of Islam.

Thereby, religious convictions will be bound to gain additional forces in the individuals, as well as in the community as a whole. With a renewed vitality and with the help of its immense spiritual forces, Islam can confidently move along in world history.

CHAPTER IV

ISLAM AND THE WEST

THE triumphant march of Islam, since its rise in the seventh century soon brought it into contact with Christianity. From the eighth century onward the Muslims had been invading Europe by way of Spain and Sicily, and the spirit of the East and that of the West became represented by the two faiths. The history of the armed struggle between the forces of Islam and those of Christianity covers the long period of ten centuries from the victories of the early caliphs to the final arrest of the westward expansion of Islam before the gates of Vienna in 1683. The rival forces reacted continuously upon one another, in this direction or in that attack and counter attack succeeded one another throughout that long period.

This persistent clash between the two religions was not however confined to war, it also consisted in controversies and polemics since the early days of Islam. But whereas Islam prevented Muslims from degrading the personality of Christ whom the Quran recognizes as a Prophet and Apostle of God, the Christians abused Muhammad and that was often indulged in in a most aggressive and abhorrent way. The Church fostered calumnies and vilifications against the founder of Islam, and thus hatred and

rage against Islam were engendered in the minds of the Christian peoples. The Crusades, which began towards the end of the eleventh century, signified an intensification and embitterment of the duel between Islam and Christendom. For centuries after this offensive of the West against the East, the hostile attitude of Christian Europe did not seem to subside.

"One must ask," writes Gustav Diercks, "why should such a long time have elapsed until the Arabs were done justice and their activity deservedly appreciated? That was to be found in the inextinguishable hatred which the Christians bore towards their adversaries from the earliest times onwards. That accounted also for the continuous striving to obliterate, as much as possible, the influence of the Spanish Arabs, and to deny them the services which they rendered to humanity. We know how barbarously the Christian Church, since the early times of its existence, proceeded against Græco-Roman paganism. We shall see that it raged more dreadfully against the art and literary treasures of the Arabs, once it had obtained the upper hand. Oftentimes acts of barbarism were attributed to the hated adversaries, which the Christians themselves had committed. Discoveries and inventions were attributed to Christians which had been made by Arabs centuries before. Where that was not possible, the endeavour was made to deny and belittle their influence, and even this did not happen in the Dark and Middle Ages alone. The exaggerated religious

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aversion to Islam and all that belongs to it has been inherited until recent times and we find traces and consequences even in the works of our days

"Centuries had to elapse before the spirit of inquiry broke religious hatred put Arab culture into its true light and removed the innumerable impediments which rendered its study difficult."

One is all the more surprised at this persistently hostile attitude of the Church when one considers the fact that the references in the Quran to Jesus and Mary are bound to breed a feeling of conciliation. Moreover, both Islam and Christianity contain similar fundamental truths in picturing life and the creation in believing in revelation prophecy and miracles of the Prophets and in resurrection. Genuine Christianity is akin to Islam in the monotheistic conception of God.

But there are essential differences between the two Faiths. Islam stands for absolute and pure monotheism, it, therefore, rejects emphatically the Christian dogma of the Trinity. To the Christians Jesus is a divine figure, to the Muslims he is a man, a great Prophet and Apostle of God. Islam therefore, repudiates the Christian doctrines of Jesus as the son of God and God incarnate as blasphemies and denies redemption sacramental grace, intercession and the adoration of saints. The Quran proclaims Christ Jesus the son of Mary was (no more than) an Apostle.

1 *Die Araber im Mittelalter und ihr Einfluss auf die Cultur Europas* pp. 36-38.

of God, and His Word, which He bestowed on Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from Him: so believe in God and His apostles. Say not 'Trinity': desist: It will be better for you. For God is one God: Glory be to Him: (Far Exalted is He) above having a son. To Him belong all things in the heavens and on earth" (S IV. 171).

The tolerant attitude of Islam towards the People of the Book i.e. Christians and Jews, is also clear. Thus we find in the Quran: "And there are, among the People of the Book, those who believe in God, in the revelation to you, and in the revelation to them, bowing in humility to God: They will never sell the signs of God for a miserable gain! For them is a reward with their Lord, and God is swift in account" (S. III: 199) "And dispute ye not with the People of the Book, except with means better (than mere disputation), unless it be with those of them who inflict wrong (and injury): But say, 'We believe in the Revelation which has come down to us and in that which came down to you, our God and your God is One, and it is to Him we bow (in Islam)'" (S XXIX. 46).

The Muslims maintain that the Christians had contaminated the pure doctrine of Jesus, particularly by deifying him.

Islamic history abounds in evidences of the kindly feelings and broad toleration towards Christians and Jews. The fair critic and Arabist Edouard Montet expressed his view upon the attitude of Islam in these

words The history of Islam justifies the affirmation that its spirit is neither fanatic nor xenophobe. Among the names of its most eminent representatives in all ages, we find in Islam apostles of tolerance, pioneers of civilization, friends of all peoples. Consider for example the Caliph Omar in the seventh century, the Omayyads from the seventh to the eighth century, whose poet laureate was the Christian al-Akhtal, Sultan Saladin of Egypt in the twelfth century, the Moghul Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century etc.

T. W. Arnold has remarked in his book *The Preaching of Islam* that the noble character of Saladin¹ in the Crusades and the misrule of the Crusaders led many Christians of the Near East to prefer Muslim rule to that of their co-religionists and after the victories of Saladin Islam made great progress and the Church was further weakened. The remarkable thing is that when Christianity from the West, through the Crusades entered Palestine Islam met this new element and without any sort of compulsion won over to Islam actual Crusaders themselves. During the first Crusade a body of Germans and Lombards abandoned their faith and embraced Islam. Nor was this the only incident for in the second Crusade, more than three thousand Crusaders

1 It is recorded of this champion of International Justice and forbearance that in the third Crusade in which we find Frederick Barbarossa, Richard the Lion Hearted and Philip Augustus II of France there were few physicians and surgeons and when the demoralized army reached Jerusalem almost at the last extremity Muslim physicians were sent to them by Saladin himself their noble foe.

became Muslims. The story is told by the private chaplain to Louis VII, who followed his master in the Crusade. The point he stresses is the cruelty of the Greeks to their fellow-Christians of the Latin faith. This, combined with the kind and generous treatment of the Saracens, won over this large body of men to Islam."

It was mainly because of their tolerant and benign rule that the Arabs could keep Spain at peace for nearly five hundred years. A Spanish historian, Romera Navarro, writes in his *Histoire d'Espagne* that "it is impossible to speak of the Muslim domination without praising the tolerance, the kindness and the nobility of character of the conquerors. Under their regime the Hispano-Roman and Visigothic inhabitants of the peninsula preserved their property, their laws, their judges, their churches and their priests. The living conditions of the cultivators of the soil, of the slaves and of the Jews were much improved. The Jews, in particular, who had been cruelly persecuted during the period of the Visigothic monarchy, enjoyed during the Arab epoch, entire liberty, they were allowed to participate in the new government and to occupy positions in its administration . . . There, men of all sects and of all races lived together in liberty. While in Christian Europe fanaticism reigned, here tolerance was practised."

After the conquest of Palestine by Islam, the Greek priests and monks remained undisturbed, and Christian pilgrims continued to flock in ever-increas-

ing numbers to the Holy Land, unmolested by the Arab authorities. Again after the fall of the Latin kingdom in Jerusalem, France retained a recognized right of jurisdiction over European pilgrims, which continued to be exercised and acknowledged when Palestine passed under the tolerant rule of the Turks.

The Ottoman Turkish rulers rarely persecuted the Christians with the studied cruelty which Christian sects displayed towards one another; many a follower of the Cross was content to live under the flag of the Sultan, so that he might escape from Christian persecution.

After the Christian reconquest of Moorish Spain, there were as many Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula as there were Christians in the Balkan Peninsula at that same period under the domination of the Ottoman Turks. It is indeed an eloquent testimony to Islamic toleration that whereas in Spain the intolerance of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition did not rest until the Moors had been either forcibly baptized, expelled or massacred, and Islam was in consequence, stamped out of Spain completely, Christianity in the Balkans not only survived but the Christian subjects of the Sultan eventually organized themselves into the Christian Balkan States of today.

As regards the Jews the Muslims treated them with equal tolerance. To the Jews of Mesopotamia

of Syria and of Egypt, the Muslims came as deliverers from the yoke of oppression. Individual Jews, as well as individual Christians, held high offices in the state in many Muslim countries. Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the head of the Jewish community in Egypt was appointed by the Caliph, and his installation was attended by much ceremonial. In other regions of North Africa, the condition of the Jews during the greater part of Muslim domination, was an easy one and much to be envied by most of their co-religionists settled in Christian lands.

To the Jews of the Byzantine Empire, the conquests by the Ottoman Turks came as a relief from oppression, and in the fifteenth century great numbers of Jews from Central Europe came to Turkey and settled there. Towards the end of the same century, there was also a considerable further Jewish immigration from Spain into Turkey. The Sultans not only granted full freedom to their Jewish subjects, they also, on occasions, intervened on behalf of foreign Jews who were suffering at the hands of other governments. The office of *Hākhām bāshī*, or chief rabbi, who presided over the Jewish community and was a member of the State Council, was instituted in Turkey during the reign of Muhammad the Conqueror. The golden age of the Jews of Turkey lasted for about two centuries.

We have already seen in the preceding chapter, that with the decline of the political power of Islam, the East became plunged into a chronic state of

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lethargy. Meanwhile the European continent became the birthplace of modern science and invention. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Europeans filled with the spirit of curiosity and urged on by the desire for gain set out to find new ways to the Indies. Later as a result of ocean trade the countries facing the Atlantic Ocean Portugal Spain France, England and Holland supplanted in power and influence the Mediterranean lands. They fought with each other for trade supremacy and new possessions, their trading posts were to be found in every land of the East. The possession of vast scientific resources has enabled the European peoples to conquer control and develop the rest of the world. After the first three major invasions of the East by the West (Alexander of Macedon Rome and the Crusades) the fourth and most formidable assault was launched by the European Powers in modern times.

As the Industrial Revolution which started in England in the eighteenth century progressed and as the machines of the industrial countries of Europe turned out at increasing speed greater and greater quantities of manufactured goods new markets and new sources of raw materials became increasingly desirable. The industrial nations of the West started a scramble for colonies the age of imperialism began. All the desirable parts of the globe were occupied and parcelled out among the European Powers and Great Britain got the lion's share.

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The nineteenth century was a period of aggressive vigour of the West which was overwhelming the East politically and economically. The Muslim states fell, one after the other, under the political domination of Europe, and, in the opening years of the present century, the supremacy of the West was complete.

In all directions it appeared that the Western nations were deliberately partitioning the lands of Islam and exploiting them for their own advantage, and those countries which were not actually subjugated were put under the 'sphere of influence' of some European Power. These European nations assumed that their civilization was in every way superior to every other culture, and had been trying to force their ways of life and their standards upon the rest of the world. Religious missions, imperialistic conquests, and world trade have been made the agencies of Western determination to impose its will upon the East.

The West sent out its missionaries to convert the world to its religion, to change their standards of morals, assuming that its domination meant progress and enlightenment to other peoples, whose education, according to the ideas of the ruling race, was the so-called 'bearing of the white man's burden'. Many European countries in the past had a diplomatic policy guided by religious institutions. Even certain countries, while they expelled religious associations from home, or quarrelled with the Roman Catholic Church, gave protection and direct support to Chris-

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tian missions abroad. The imperialistic nations particularly gave zealous encouragement to religious institutions which aided their diplomatic influence in the East. It is fair to point out that the United States adapted the wiser policy that all American citizens abroad should have the same protection, whether missionaries or merchants. The United States gave to Turkey the express disclaimer of any religious end influencing any national action in the Treaty with Tripoli in 1797, when Washington was still President. Article XI ran thus: 'As the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion, as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Musselmen, and as the said States never have entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation it is declared by the parties that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries.'

The mistake of many who insist upon the superiority of Western civilization is that they do not differentiate between its real strength and the other elements which are merely incidental. They confuse unique features—invention, science, mechanics and organization—with non essential elements which have happened to be present in the West in the course of its evolution, for example, the Christian religion, competitive capitalism, democratic nationalism, certain moral standards and social habits. Chris-

tianity cannot be claimed to be a Western contribution, the very basis of Western European civilization was mediated to the West through Greece and Rome. Furthermore, the essential teachings of the founder of Christianity have never been wholly followed by the West. Love without regard to race or caste, pacifism, humility, meekness, the abrogation of worldly goods—these which are the cardinal ethics of Jesus Christ, are directly opposed to just those things upon which the Western nations have founded their power: capitalism, individualism considered as an end, spirit of revolt, disregard of one's neighbour if he be of a different race or colour, organized planning in all phases of life and the accumulation of material wealth. It is one of the ironies of history that Christianity should have become, by a series of accidents, the professed religion of just those nations which in all their dearest practices were furthest from the ideals which Jesus Christ, the great Apostle of God, taught.

Western invasion of the East did not only launch its economic life on new courses, it was also followed by a vast flow of Western science, Western ideas and Western social habits. Under the impact of the West, the East has awakened to a consciousness of its own soul; it is today in a stage of acute reaction: political and intellectual.

The conflict which still exists between Islam and Christendom, or broadly speaking, between East and West, is embittered by misunderstanding and ignor-

ance which should be dispelled before mutual goodwill can be hoped for. Goodwill without knowledge is of little importance. The editor of *Great Britain and the East* has commented upon the relationship between the West and Islam in these words:

' Few indeed were the publicists of the centuries prior to the twentieth who realised that fundamentally that section of the East which is monotheistic is at one with the West. Europeans were taught to believe, or at any rate gained the impression, that Muslims were outside the pale of decent society, that every Muslim had at least four wives, that in the Islamic belief women had no souls, and so on. 'Turks and infidels' were as one in being beyond the social intercourse of right minded, civilised people.

"Today, happily, we know better but we do not know enough."¹

It must be admitted that a good deal of prejudice and ignorance has been cleared away by the great work of scientific exploration and impartial study of Islam which a growing number of Western scholars and orientalist have recently accomplished. Therein lies a wide field for intellectual co-operation between representative scholars from the two worlds.²

Both Islam and the West are obviously living today at one of the critical points in history. At the

¹ What Islam wants of the West. In *Great Britain and the East*. April 1937.

² Cf. *Considérations sur la collaboration scientifique entre l'Orient Islamique et l'Europe* by a Muslim scholar Ahmad Zeki Validi in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 1935 (Cahier III).

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which I write, their relationship is passing a difficult and perilous phase. In what way will the Islam-West relationship evolve? It depends mainly on the final disposition of the West which possesses today the material and moral premacy. Islam is opposed to the rule of

If the West renounces prejudices against the Muslims, understands the justifiable freedom and unity of Islam and does not obstruct the way of its evolution towards these ends, only then can a better state of affairs in the relations between Islam and the West be brought

PART II

CHAPTER X

THE PRESENT AWAKENING OF ISLAM

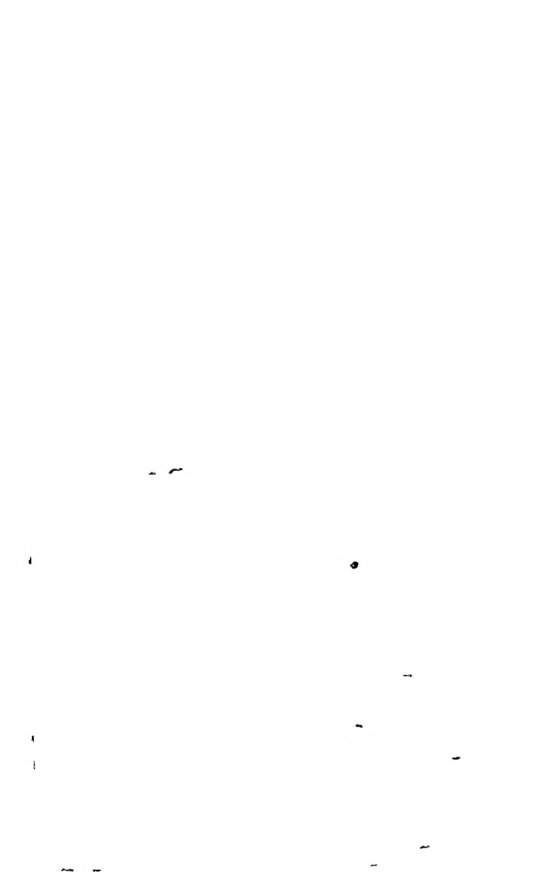
THE opening decade of the twentieth century was a sombre time for the lands of Islam. But even in those worst days of political decay the spiritual vigour of the Muslim peoples never died. Beneath the surface of a society apparently acquiescent in its backwardness and enslavement to the European Powers, there had been for a long time a vital current flowing, ready to burst into spiritual and intellectual life, as soon as conditions allowed. These conditions were enhanced by the First World War, at the end of which the Islamic world appeared emerging from its past lethargy and becoming self-conscious. It had also become evident that the Muslim peoples were endeavouring to readjust themselves to conditions in the modern world.

In this chapter I propose to outline the salient features of this grand awakening of Islam and the new spirit which is sweeping over the entire Muslim East.

Self-consciousness has been spreading since the First World War from one Muslim country to another until today, there is no Muslim nation left which does not participate in that collective movement. The

awakened Muslim peoples were striving for freedom and complete national independence. They resented being under the domination of foreign tutelage and of being bartered like pawns in a game. They claimed to control their own destinies. Fervent nationalism became a source of strength in their struggle towards the common goal of freedom. Simultaneously the very lively sense of solidarity, which is characteristic of the Muslim communities, became intensely developed.

As a result of this struggle, Turkey last century's 'sick man of Europe' emerged as a strong and homogeneous sovereign State; Persia, under the strong-willed Riza Shah Pahlevi, during the period between the two world wars, ceased to be subservient to the rival influences of Russia and Great Britain and was able to become independent, Afghanistan, another buffer State between rival imperialisms, succeeded in recovering her independence and becoming a progressive modern State. In the Near East, Arabia was re-born under its strong Wahhabite ruler Ibn Sa'ud and has become an important factor in any policy towards the Arab world. Iraq successfully passed from the stage of Mandate under British control to that of an independent kingdom. Egypt achieved the recognition of her independence and sovereignty from Great Britain, by means of a treaty concluded in 1936, and which is being at present revised. The Levant States of Syria and Lebanon followed a similar path on the road to independence which they have quite recently





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recovered As for Palestine it is still in the melting pot whereas the neighbour Arab State of Transjordan has just been granted independence by Great Britain, its former Mandatory Power Farther to the East, Muslim India is staunchly struggling for independent Pakistan, and Muslim Indonesia is flaring up against foreign domination Farther to the west, along the Mediterranean littoral the Arab countries of Libya Tunisia Algeria and Morocco are the scene of a steadily growing nationalist movement of liberation which is symptomatic of the general awakening of the East In fact all these peoples have identical political aspirations complete freedom from foreign control and consolidation of the positions acquired

But this awakening is not only national, it is also intellectual and cultural An active religious revival and a real social and economic transformation are taking place in the Muslim countries which are thus rapidly evolving along their own lines

There is no part of the Islamic world where these changes are succeeding one another so rapidly as in the Middle East and it is in this region that today the observer can see at its best the transformation in progress An abounding vitality and a tremendous force seem to be driving the peoples of the Middle East onwards in their awakening Here is the great meeting place of world religions races and cultures And here too is an area covered by the most convenient routes of land air, and water communications, and a glance at the map will show the vast strategic

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importance of this region of the globe And it is this vital area which we will select for our field of vision in this survey.

With regard to the political aspect of the awakening of Islam, it may be said that anti-imperialist feeling has been a rallying force in the struggle of its peoples for national renaissance Nationalist leaders hold that it has been mainly the political blight which, for centuries, kept numb the soul of the East, and with its removal, other conditions appear wealth, intellectual development, social and economic progress The rising tide of nationalism in the Middle East has drawn together the constituent units of the Arab world into a continuously increasing sense of solidarity During the past few years, the pan-Arab movements have been very much alive and more united and purposeful in aim and in close co-operation than at any time in recent Arab history These movements for Arab unity the initiative of which lay with the Arabs themselves, successfully culminated in the foundation of the Arab League in 1945 Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, an able Egyptian diplomat, who had, for many years, actively participated in the Arab struggle for unity, was elected General Secretary of the League

Today, the contrast between the political significance of the Arabs at the end of the two world wars is quite striking. At Versailles, there was only one Arab voice, that of the Hijaz whereas at San Francisco and at the assemblies of the United Nations

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Organization there were delegations representing several sovereign Arab States and there is an Egyptian member of the Security Council. Besides as a composite body, the Arab League has become an important factor in Middle Eastern affairs. It has imparted a powerful impetus to the tightening of the cultural, economic and political bonds not only among the member States but also with the other Arab countries in North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula which have not yet become members of the League, because of their present political status. And those who have followed its progress closely realize how important an influence it has wielded in regard to the political affairs of the individual Arab countries from Morocco to the Persian Gulf.

It is one of the characteristics of the Islamic world that what happens in any one Muslim country always has its immediate repercussions throughout all the lands of Islam. Such events as the newly won independence of Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan, the forthcoming evacuation of Egypt and the progressive crystallization of the Arab League serve to whet the demands of other North African and Middle Eastern peoples for self government and freedom from foreign shackles. They enthusiastically hear and read of their fellow Muslim brethren's successful struggle and naturally turn to them for an active support of their national aspirations.

Even outside the Arab world, other Muslim States such as Turkey and Persia, are fostering closer

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relations and alliance with individual members of the Arab League. Thus the old Pact of Saadabad, as well as the recent Turco-Iraqi agreement, and similar accords in the future are inspired by the same motives, namely, the recognition of common needs and interests and the creation of a common front against all enterprizes of foreign imperialisms. All these countries are opposed to the satisfaction of foreign territorial, appetites at their expense. They are aware of their territorial, strategic, economic and also psychological importance. Their sense of unity has made considerable progress lately, thus preparing the way for the emergence of a consolidated Power in the future.

Official demonstrations of solidarity among the Muslim countries have of late been frequent. The State visit of King Ibn Sa'ud to Egypt in January 1946, the official support by Egypt and Iraq of the Levant States during the crisis with France in 1945, the Egyptian stand in favour of Persia before the U N. O., and the conference of the Heads of the Arab States held in Egypt in May 1946, in connection with the problem of Palestine, afford striking examples. Moreover, official declarations by Turkish statesmen, in October 1946, that Turkey is desirous of strengthening the common bonds that exist between her and the Arab world, have had their natural echo. Thus, in the speech from the Egyptian throne, in November 1946, the friendship of Egypt for the Turks was exalted.

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As regards the social evolution, it may be said at the outset that it occupies an important place in the general Islamic awakening. The most profound changes and the most radical transformation have taken place in Kamalist Turkey, owing to a drastic policy of secularization of the State and westernization of the country so that a complete outward change has been effected. In Persia during the interval between the two world wars the late Riza Shah Pahlevi was active in following the example of Kamal Ataturk in the work of modernization.

Great social reforms always have been and always will be the result of great religious movements. If these words of Mazzini's are true they assuredly have their most corroborative evidence in the great religious movement associated with the social change in many Muslim countries. In spite of all the modernistic tendencies which are spreading over the countries of the Middle East, along with the overwhelming impact of the West Islam remains the banner round which the people firmly rally with unshakable loyalty. A marked revival of interest in religion is evident in all classes of society. Such facts as the existence in Egypt of a great Organization of Muslim Brethren with branches all over the country and a rapidly increasing membership, the daily broadcasting of Quran readings which are eagerly listened to throughout the Islamic world, the popularity and influence of religious leaders and scholars in Muslim countries, and the great develop-

ment of al-Azhari University in Cairo, are significant of the profound attachment and interest of the people in religion

In Sa'udi Arabia as well as in Afghanistan, Muslim tradition is functioning very efficiently, whereas in Muslim India there is a remarkable religious modernistic movement. Going farther to the West, we find in Tunisia and Algeria a noteworthy 'Society of the Ulemas' which under its late President, Abdul Hamid Badis, succeeded in infusing a new spiritual life, based upon religion, into an important section of the North African Muslim youth.

Yet there is hereby no religious harshness. Muslim leaders of reform uphold the policy of tolerance towards non-Muslims, and claim that it must be realized that differences of religious creed in the State need not arouse passions strong enough to exclude the sense of common citizenship

In the Arab countries, such a tolerant outlook has lent irresistible force to the nationalistic fervour of all the elements of the population: for instance, the bringing together of Muslims and Copts in Egypt, of Christians and Muslims in Palestine, of Maronites and Muslims in Lebanon and Syria, may be mentioned. And in spite of all the factions which are not yet extinct in some parts of the Arab world, and all the religious and ethnic differences of its elements, there is enough sense of community to ensure a continuous collective action towards the goal of national freedom.

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In some other regions for example, in India such a collective action could not as yet be easily obtained, because of the very widely opposing conceptions of Islam and Hinduism. In other words there are more basic contacts between Muslims and Christians in the Arab world and more basic barriers between Muslims and Hindus in the Indian world. This is a fundamental reason why the Muslims of India put their group solidarity and cultural unity before racial consciousness. This however does not imply any hostile feeling towards non-Muslim communities.

Among the outstanding features of the social evolution we may distinguish the progress of education and pedagogic reforms, the status of woman and the feminist movement. There is also a change from nomadism to sedentarism, labour is steadily developing and the process of industrialization is going on. An important aspect is the emergence of a middle-class of intellectuals inspired by an ambition to improve the lot of the poverty-stricken and illiterate masses.

Communications and air transport between the various regions of the Middle East have now attained great progress with the result that the component units of the Islamic world are now more linked with each other than ever before. The creation of new airfields and the establishment of new airlines have rendered air transport flourishing and, owing to the general efficiency of service, one can even meet an

born pilgrims to Mecca flying across the Arab world, during the pilgrimage season

A factor of great social significance is to be found in the rise of an emancipated and increasingly educated womanhood. The growth of the feminist movement has been an indication of the part that the oriental woman is already playing, and the greater part she may still play in the general awakening of the East. Many Muslim women are now crossing the threshold into a world in which men and women meet under normal and wholesome conditions. It has been realized that women have to play an immense part in the work of national regeneration in Islamic countries, and that their education will have an immense influence upon the morals of a civilized society. There have been rapid strides towards the goal of education for girls. Moreover, we find a rapid disappearance of the veil and an increasing measure of freedom for women, especially those in cities where the people are in touch with modern happenings.

It is in Turkey that the transformation in the status of women has been most profound. Women in Turkey are permitted to vote, and there are women deputies in the Turkish Parliament. There are also women judges, and magistrates, and many educated women are engaged in increasing numbers in various professions.

In the Arab world, the feminist movement is conducted by cautious women leaders. Whereas the tendency in Turkey has been, through the inspiration

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of the State, to break loose from some of the religious precepts the Arab women leaders have chosen that their emancipation should express itself within the spirit of the Islamic Law which is not incompatible with progress and modernism within normal healthy limits

The women's movement in the Arab countries has made striking progress during recent years. Periodically Arab women's conferences are held in some capital of the Middle East to discuss matters of feminine interest in all phases of life. The latest women's conference was held at Cairo in December 1944. In it 110 delegates of feminine associations of Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq met and approved the creation of a Federal Council of the Associations of Arab Women, and nominated as its President Madame Huda Charaoui, who is at the head of the feminist movement in Egypt and the founder of the review *l'Egyptienne*. The conference adopted many resolutions as regards the social problems of the Arab countries, which clearly show that educated women of the Islamic world are playing an ever-increasing part in the social as well as in the political field of national life.

Economic and social development is rapidly transforming the countries of the Middle East. The technical and scientific advantages of Western civilization are being introduced into an Eastern setting. The Middle Eastern countries have set up a modern system of roads, railways, telegraphs, air ports, town

vices and amenities. And there is a commercial community well able to hold its own in business with foreign competition. But there is also a practical utilization of the technical deficiencies and of the shortage of trained teams in the economic field. There is a demand for effective technical help in scientific agriculture, industry and even administration. But such help should not imply any foreign control or privileges.

It should be noted that several of the countries of the Middle East possess abundant dormant mineral wealth (for instance, Sinai in Egypt, Yemen and other regions of the Arabian Peninsula) and are capable of great development. The economic progress of the Middle Eastern countries entails planned development of their natural resources, and in this field Western expert co-operation and economic partnership may be effected by negotiated agreement. A fruitful co-operation could succeed in linking a thriving Middle East by schemes for mutual economic benefit, both within the area and with the outer world, and in bringing about a better existence of the populations of the Middle Eastern countries.

Industrialization is advancing in the Middle East at a notable speed. In countries like Turkey, Persia and Egypt, flourishing industries have sprung up on every hand; and factories have developed in the past two decades. In Egypt, the most advanced among the Arab countries, the great economic edifice built up by the Egyptian "*Banque Misr*", an entirely national

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institution, together with its numerous affiliated societies, covering every domain of national economy and industry has acquired a predominant place not only in the economic life of the country but throughout the Arab East to which it has extended its numerous enterprises. It also succeeded in setting up Egyptian steamship lines in the Mediterranean and Red Sea while its Misr Airlines connect Egypt and the other Middle Eastern countries in one chain. The late Tal'at Harb Pasha (died 1945) who was director of Banque Misr, was a great leader of economic regeneration.

Another feature of the social upheaval is the awakening of labour and its evolution in the advanced Arab countries. Here it is being organized although it has not assumed the importance it has in the Western countries. In Egypt labour is being syndically organized along modern Western lines, and this is having its effect elsewhere in the Arab world. With regard to this noticeable transformation of labour it should be pointed out that among the Muslim working classes there are no communist phenomena of mass violence or class hatred. For, Islam affects the life of its adherents much more profoundly than any conflicting political doctrines. The hold of the Islamic religion on the masses is so tenacious that the communist seeds will never grow in a Muslim soil. This social characteristic of Islam is common to Muslim society everywhere and it is a revealing sign that even in Russia, when the Bolshevik

revolution had brought in its wake religious persecutions, the Muslim populations of Asiatic Russia continued to feel a strong sense of security not within Soviet federalism, but, as ever, in the brotherhood of Islam (It is recorded of many of them, that, despite the grave risks of torture and even death, they used to tattoo the Islamic profession of faith, 'There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Apostle of God', on the skin of their chests over the region of the hearts, and this at the time when they were forced to adhere to the communist party.)

Several Islamic countries are members of the International Labour Organization and participate in the international collaboration of labour. There is a progress in labour legislation directed towards the promotion of the workers' welfare.

The populations of the Middle Eastern countries are still mainly agricultural, and the standard of life, judged by European standards, is still very low. Great efforts are now being made to improve village economy and in Egypt there is a wide movement for the uplift of the Egyptian village. Thus the fellah (peasant) will be raised to a higher stage of evolution. In fact, agrarian evolution in the Middle East is witnessing the gradual transformation from nomadism into sedentarism, and, in this respect, the improvement and multiplication of means of communication has contributed its share.

The masses of the fellahin are beginning to acquire social and political consciousness under the

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guidance of Arab intellectuals Many signs of progress in the art of government are evident in the transition from autocracy to democracy so that there is to day a latent modification of the social structure in countries like Egypt and the Levant States There is on all sides a clamour for internal reform with a view to ensuring a better existence and well-being of the masses especially the peasants and working classes

In the health and social sections of this vast field of reconstruction great efforts are urgently needed As I have already said the standard of living is unduly low in most of the Islamic countries, and with that is bound up the fundamental questions of nutrition and health The main causes of malnutrition apart from the prevalence of debilitating endemic diseases are the low standard of living due to the poverty of the masses and ignorance coupled with its corollary, superstition In fact disease ignorance and poverty constitute the major social syndrome, in the Middle East

There has been of late a notable progress of sanitary organization in the Middle East Various health services have been developed and the campaign against the parasitic diseases is being intensified A good deal of significant research work has been done by physicians from the Arab countries on the subject of endemic and infectious diseases and their treatment on a large scale Successful efforts have been made by various Middle Eastern governments towards

providing sanitation, pure water supplies, drainage and sewerage, and, on the medical side, clinics, health visitors, maternities, child-welfare centres, hospitals, and medical supplies generally. The results obtained so far are quite encouraging.

Associated with health work, and as a necessary basis for action, is the need for further and fuller vital statistics and such statistics are becoming more available progressively. In this respect allusion must be made to the existing high infant mortality which is due both to poverty and to disease, and these undermine the fitness of those who survive. Biologically, the Muslim countries are progressive types of nations, for the birth-rate of the Muslim peoples is steadily and rapidly rising. In this multiplication and annual population increase, the Muslim peoples are a long way ahead of non-Muslim communities. The reform measures, designed to reduce infant mortality, will improve the fitness of the whole generation and preserve the higher ratio of births.

Education has made great progress as the result of the programme of expansion adopted by several Middle Eastern countries. Compulsory elementary education is being enforced diligently, and in this respect the period between the two wars was one of good progress. Ample provision is being made for technical, agricultural and domestic training. The reorganization of the existing universities along modern lines and the creation of new ones and of new colleges are notable.

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With regard to specialized Islamic training the paramount importance of the University-Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo should be mentioned. Al Azhar is both the most venerable and the most influential of all the factors which have aided in the development and radiation of Islamic culture. Rightly proud of its thousand years of existence deeply planted in the land of Egypt attracting to itself thousands and thousands of eager Muslim students from every corner of the Islamic world and mixed up with Egyptian Arab and general Islamic history since its foundation al-Azhar has become a stronghold of Islamic culture an integral part of Islamic history and a common Muslim heritage.

Impressive strides have been made throughout the Middle East towards a great literary renaissance. The rapid multiplication of newspapers and periodicals of books and pamphlet literature the enormous increase in the number of literary societies and intellectual organizations and the interchange of academic visits of scholars professors and students among the Arab countries and the starting of scientific research missions are phenomena that are witnessed today in all these countries.

The wide dissemination of wireless and its utilization as well as that of the theatre and cinema for the propagation of cultural activities the rising and surging tide of new thought and the flourishing output of original works and of translations of foreign

literature, all bear convincing evidence to the intellectual awakening.

Organizations for the revival of classic Arabic literature, under the patronage and with the support of the State, and the creation of a revived modern Arabic literature, have widened the horizon of the literary movement

Efforts are being constantly made to promote intellectual co-operation and moral unity among the Arab peoples by an extensive exchange of publications, postal and customs facilities, and celebrations of the great literary figures of the past. At such celebrations, the leaders of modern Arabic literature and thought, from all quarters of the Arab world, take part and contribute towards the creation of a unified literary ideal. The glorious past of the Arabs is used as a stimulus for the present revival, and the achievements of the present are utilized to promote the still greater development in the future.

The Arabic language is among the most widespread in time and space and it is the common spoken tongue and literary instrument of over eighty millions in the Arab countries of the Middle East and of North Africa including a large proportion of the people of the Sudan, of East Africa and even some parts of Nigeria. Arabic has maintained real spiritual affinities among these peoples, and to all of them its literature, which is among the richest in the world, is a treasured heritage.

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The Royal Philological Academy, which was founded in Cairo in 1933 assembles each year the chief oriental writers and a great number of European orientologists, it actively contributes towards the much desired linguistic unity among all the Arabic speaking peoples. There is another Arab Academy at Damascus. New dictionaries of the Arabic language are being elaborated to meet all modern conditions. Thanks to the richness and pliancy of the language, which affords an almost inexhaustible wealth of vocabulary, it can be made use of to meet the technical terms of modern science and usage. In addition to this the works of modern writers, whether in pure literature or in science impart a new vigour and a new lustre to the language, and they are at the same time an eloquent testimony to the high level of modern Arabic thought.

The Arabic press is multiplying by leaps and bounds and covers every domain of culture. Islamic topics figure prominently in a large number of them. But besides the purely Islamic press the important daily and weekly newspapers in the Arab East devote sections to all topics which concern the Arab and Muslim countries and their relationships.

Education has brought with it the study of foreign languages, and the literature of the West is being opened up to the East. A galaxy of Arab scholars and young writers are setting themselves to the task of interpreting Western literature to the

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Arabic-speaking peoples A fairly large production of such translations has been done in the past thirty years. Many enthusiastic students who have received Western education abroad, return to their homes to translate the learning of Europe and America into the language of the Quran, thus widening still further the cultural horizon.

The demand for literature is a natural outcome of the spread of literacy and the output is enormous. Today, modern works on religion, on history, works dealing with philosophy and the arts, poetry and literary criticism, novels and romances are abundant, and some have been translated into other languages. In Egypt and the Levant States we meet with many works of romantic poetry, poetical poetry, biography, realistic and historical fiction and children's literature. Modern Arabic literature is on the way to produce works which may become of international repute

Associated with the literary movement, since its initial stage at the beginning of the present century, until today, the work of Syro-Lebanese writers who had emigrated to America should be mentioned. They successfully developed various forms of literature, and founded a flourishing Arabic press and publishing firms.

The theatre has been of late one of the potent influences for stimulating Arab thought and reviving Arab national spirit. A national Egyptian theatre has been set up and is making good progress. There

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are a number of dramatists and Arab drama has given abundant evidence of vitality

Egypt has established itself as the intellectual leader of the Arab world, and Cairo has grown to be the vital nerve centre of the Islamic religious movement. Furthermore, its significance as a meeting-place for men of letters, diplomats, politicians, leaders of pan-Arab and pan-Islamic movements, has been greatly enhanced since the foundation of the Arab League. Indeed with its tangle of races, its Arab splendours and Islamic glories Cairo has become an incomparable centre in the Islamic world which affords so many converging elements to favour the general Islamic regeneration. In this metropolis of the renascent Middle East, Arabian princes, Iraqi scholars and Palestinian Arab nationalists, Syrian business men and North African patriots as well as Ulema from Yugoslavia and Muslim students from China meet and witness the impressive scene of awakening that is taking place. Here, they find themselves at home and take part in the various manifestations of Muslim brotherhood and Arab solidarity. Here, in fine, they see Islam on the march and feel that the outlook is hopeful.

An interesting and important feature of the present transformation of the Middle East is the paramount role played in it by the progressive youth. All of this youth are ardent patriots. They take a passionate interest in politics and are, therefore, very active in the political arena. Their patriotic zeal and

their nationalists activities have often been, as recent events in Egypt and elsewhere have shown, of such moment as to impose their will on the leaders of political parties

Their intellectual tendencies and social ambitions are being increasingly affirmed. They are resolutely modern and take a deep interest in the new aspects of the civilization of the West, but through the guidance of an intellectual elite which is rapidly making its appearance, they are gaining a clear realization of the true value of modernity and the 'necessity of a careful modification in accepting occidental methods.

Psychologically, youth has full self-confidence and a large measure of pride, due to their success in the various spheres of national life. They are the champions of energetic social reform, and many youth organizations enthusiastically give their services for the good of the community. One of the most encouraging factors in all the advanced Islamic countries is the rise of a young intelligentsia and an active class of educated young men and young women, who are creating a new force in Muslim society and are determined to multiply their efforts in all fields of reconstruction and reform. Muslim youth is assuredly the hope of Islam in its grand awakening.

All the movements that are stirring the Islamic world at present, amount to a real revolution. But it is a revolution in the forms and not in the principles. The Muslim countries desire to adopt

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modern forms but at the same time, far from breaking with the Islamic system, they come back to it. Material modernization is accompanied by a return to the spiritual teachings of the Quran. The Muslim peoples are rapidly adjusting themselves to modern conditions, but the type of culture that they wish to carve out for themselves in this new age, is a revitalized Islamic culture with a glorification of the spiritual values and a fostering of the ancient and noble traditions of Islam.

CHAPTER XI

THE EMANCIPATION OF ISLAM

HAVING depicted the outstanding features of awakened Islam I propose in this chapter to tell briefly the story of the evolution of the individual Islamic countries. In the process of transformation which is taking place, one can distinguish three main aspects, namely, a striving for emancipation from foreign control, an energetic action in the sphere of national reconstruction and modernization and a movement towards regional grouping and unity.

REPUBLICAN TURKEY

The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War was one of the most significant events in recent history. No less amazing was the regeneration of the Turkish people and the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic under the leadership of Mustafa Kamal Pasha, later known as Kamal Atatürk.

Between 1920 and 1922 Mustafa Kamal won a decisive battle over the Greeks, drove them out of Asia Minor, and tore up the Treaty of Sévres which the Western Powers had dictated. In July, 1923, at Lausanne, his prime minister and successor İsmet Pasha (İnönü), negotiated with the European Powers

a treaty which awarded Turkey the fruits of her triumphant struggle under Kamal's generalship.

In the same year (1923), the National Assembly at Ankara proclaimed Turkey a Republic (October 29), and elected Mustafa Kamal to the Presidency. And in March of the following year (1924), the Ottoman Caliphate was abolished. Soon afterwards, the new Kamalist régime launched a drastic policy of secularization, together with an exaltation of Turkish nationalism. Kamal set to work to change his people from old ways to new, adopting modern civilization and Western ways

Among the radical changes effected in the new Turkey was the abolition of the Fez as a head-dress in 1925, furthermore, the forbidding of ecclesiastic dress except during religious ceremonies, and the suppression of the dervishes. Then, in 1928, international numbers were adopted, and the Latin characters were substituted for the Arabic script since January 1, 1929.

A programme of rapid modernization and westernization was launched, and in the field of public instruction, immense progress was made. The percentage of Turks who can read and write rose from 22 per cent in 1928 to 45 per cent in 1934 and rose further considerably during the past ten years up to 1944. Education is compulsory, free, and secular. All educational organizations have passed into the hands of the State. The Turkish schools today possess the most modern equipment and pedagogic

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methods Boys and girls are educated together Public libraries reading-rooms and museums have been established in many parts of the country

The progress of legislative reform has also been very significant, and Turkey adopted Western codes of law, based on the French, Swiss, German and Italian legal systems

The position of women was radically changed A series of laws restricted polygamy and required the registration of marriages while civil marriages were made obligatory after September 1926 The abolition of the veil was obtained by unofficial propaganda Women were permitted to engage in all occupations, they are elected to municipalities and to the National Assembly and there are women judges lawyers physicians, aviators, artists and business women in the country All the higher professions were thrown open to them

Side by side with this revolution in the social and cultural life of Turkey, there proceeded a determined effort to free the economic life of the country from foreign control and to develop Turkey's natural resources by the Turks for the Turks In 1929 the National Assembly voted a huge appropriation for a consolidated programme of public works, to extend over twelve years and to include railway, port irrigation, reclamation and highway construction projects

The railway systems have been completely nationalized The total length of railways in opera-

tion on January 1, 1943, was 4,610 miles. A plan for 5,000 kilometres of motor-roads has been started and the work of modernizing and enlarging the sea-ports set in full action.

The mineral wealth of Asia Minor is considerable and is being developed. Among metals, Turkey is richest in chrome, it also produces coal from the mines on the Black Sea, copper, iron, lead, and other minerals in commercial quantities.

Turkey may be said to have become self-sufficient in food and also in many industrial raw materials. Industrialization of the country is going on at a rapid rate. There are textile, sugar, paper, and cement factories as well as a national iron and steel industry. There is also a flourishing silk industry.

In October 1945, a five-year industrial plan was prepared, providing for further exploitation of the Zonguldak coal-mines, the development of chemical industries, and the modernization of industrial equipment.

The banking system has been reorganized and made all-Turkish, and the abolition of the capitulations had the effect of removing from foreign hands what was virtually a monopoly of Turkey's international trade.

The Turkish peasant is gradually adapting himself to more modern methods. The Agricultural Bank looks after farming, cotton-growing, irrigation, and the scientific exploitation of forests. Under a Land

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Reform Act (June 7 1945), large tracts were distributed to peasants who were formerly landless or without sufficient land for subsistence. About 5,000 000 peasants or one third of the agricultural population, benefited by this.

Social services have been highly developed in Turkey of recent years, and some 450 People's Houses (Halkevleri) for the development of the cultural and social uplift of the people have been opened.

The Turkish Ministry of Health has prepared a ten-year plan, providing in the capital (Ankara) and chief provincial cities modern hospitals, sanatoria, maternity homes and mental hospitals.

There are now universities at Istanbul with 7,000 students (1 600 women) and at Ankara (founded 1934).

Turkey has a first class army, and her Merchant Navy had a total tonnage of 220 000 gross (300 vessels) in 1940.

The population of Turkey has made a remarkable increase, it rose from 13 648 000 in 1927 to 19 000,000 according to the fourth general census of population which was held on October 21 1945.

The Sanjak of Alexandretta (latterly known as the Republic of Hatay) was ceded by France on June 23 1939, having formed part of Mandated Syria since 1922.

Republican Turkey adopted a policy of genuine reconciliation with old enemies and ex subjects, as well

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as of understanding with the surrounding countries. One of Turkey's notable triumphs has been the conversion of its former enemy, Greece, into a loyal friend, after long years of war and struggle. In 1930 a Græco-Turkish convention was signed, and this was followed by a treaty of neutrality, conciliation and arbitration between the two States. In 1931 Athens made an enthusiastic welcome to a delegation of Turkish ministers on visit. In 1932 Turkey became a member of the League of Nations, and, in 1933 a Balkan Pact, including Turkey as a prominent member, was signed. In the period just prior to the Second World War, Turkey acquired immense prestige throughout the Balkan Peninsula and was consulted as a mentor by Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece.

Turkey obtained an important diplomatic success by the conclusion of the Montreux Convention in 1936, in which she won the right to fortify the Straits guarding the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, her historic waterway.

In 1937 a Four-Power Asiatic Pact of friendship and alliance, known as the Pact of Saadabad, was signed between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. A visit of ex-King Edward VIII to Istanbul in 1936 served to foster the friendly relations with Great Britain. These relations have steadily improved, and in May, 1939, Turkey concluded a pact of mutual assistance with Britain and France.

After the First World War, Turkey developed close relations with Soviet Russia, and in 1925 she

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concluded a treaty of non-aggression and a mutual pledge of neutrality. In December, 1945 this Soviet-Turkish Treaty previously renounced by Russia, expired, and no new treaty has been concluded to take its place. The Turco Russian relations will be further discussed in the following chapter.

After a long and fluctuating illness the man of destiny of modern Turkey, Kamal Atatürk died on November 11, 1938. On the same day the Grand National Assembly chose his trusted companion and co worker, General Ismet Inonu as his successor in the Presidency. This great soldier and statesman was re elected in March, 1943.

In August 1944 Turkey severed diplomatic relations with Germany and on February 23 1945, declared war on Germany and Japan.

In the Second World War, Turkey remained neutral and from a purely nationalist point of view her neutrality was a success. Turkey rendered a valuable service to the Allied cause in constituting in the Middle East at a very critical moment of the war, an insurmountable bastion. The Turks furthermore, received more than one hundred thousand refugees and they aided charitably Greece and the inhabitants of the islands of the Ægean Sea.

Kamal Atatürk had installed an authoritative regime where but one party (the Republican People's Party) existed the head of which was at the same time the President of the Republic. But however

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efficient the political system was which permitted the creation of modern Turkey, President İnönü has considered it useful to make it more supple and confer upon it a more democratic character. He decided that the country should vote freely, by universal suffrage, and could give her vote to opposition parties. He paved the way for the election when, in December, 1945, he removed the ban on opposition parties. His Republican People's Party stood on its long series of social reforms. The main opposition party (the Democratic Party), was created under the leadership of Jalâl Bayar, a former minister and an eminent economist, who had the valuable support of the highly esteemed Marshal Fawzi Tshakmak, the former General-in-Chief. This party, supported by the wealthy and middle class, as well as the commercial circles, posed as champion of democratic rights and a greater economic freedom. It declared itself opposed to statistic methods.

The Turkish elections were held on July 21, 1946. The results showed that the Republican People's Party won 396 of the 465 seats in the National Assembly, the Democratic Party captured 62 seats, while Independents won 7. But the holding of the election in itself was the important fact denoting the evolution in Turkey, for she had been a one-party State since the late Kamal Atatürk established the Republic in 1923.

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In August 1946 Mr Ismet Inonu was re elected, for the third time by the National Assembly, President of the Turkish Republic.

With regard to religion it must be pointed out that in spite of the drastic changes brought about in modern Turkey, the Islamic faith has remained alive in the hearts of the Turks and this fact is a proof of the essential spiritual cohesion of the Islamic world

EGYPTIAN RENAISSANCE

Many historians describe Mohammad Ali, the founder of the ruling dynasty in the land of the Pharaohs as the maker of modern Egypt Under him and through his inspiration and energy, Egypt entered the modern world and European civilization was introduced upon the banks of the Nile Under him Egypt made vast strides in modernization and was on the way to an empire of her own But despite the military victories of the Egyptian armies the European Powers intervened and prevented Egypt from becoming a Power Since then, the creeping shadow of Great Britain has been upon Egypt, and since the building of the Suez Canal under Mohammad Ali's successors her eyes have ever been fixed upon this focal point of communications

For centuries Egypt was part of the Ottoman Empire, and even since the establishment of the dynasty of Mohammad Ali the country continued to be under the suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan

The prodigality of Ismail, the Khedive of Egypt, who contracted vast debts to British bondholders, and the purchase by Disraeli in 1875 of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company, for four million pounds, gave Britain the long-wished for and carefully planned hold over that new quick route to India, a principal artery of trade with the East. A nationalist military revolt in Egypt under Ahmad Arâbi Pasha, in 1882, against the dual control which had been exercised by France and England since the Khedive's bankruptcy six years before, was esteemed by Britain to be the most opportune moment to realize her plans of the extension of British power over Egypt. Her military intervention led to the defeat of Arâbi Pasha and the British occupation of Egypt since 1882. For a time this military occupation made France angry, but the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 left the British alone in control.

Ever since their first entry into Egypt, the British made definite and oft-repeated pledges not only to the Egyptians but to other nations, too, that their occupation of the country was only temporary, and that they were going to get out. But Britain continued to stay there.

During the period between 1882 and 1914, the situation in Egypt was, as in many other countries, subject to alien rule, and thus rose a nationalist movement

In 1914 the outbreak of hostilities between Turkey and Great Britain led the latter to proclaim a

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protectorate over Egypt depose the Khedive Abbas Hilmi II who happened to be in Constantinople¹ and elevate his uncle to the throne as Sultan of Egypt. The protectorate was a unilateral proclamation not accepted by Egypt. Furthermore, England declared that she agreed to take upon herself the sole burden of the war without calling on the Egyptian people for aid therein. This promise was, however, soon violated, and the military authorities organized an Egyptian Labour Corps resorting to forced recruiting. Dubious methods were used to exact aid and contributions to the Allies during the war. Egypt seethed with discontent. In 1918 at the end of the war, the Egyptian expected the promises to be kept, especially so, because of the declaration by President Wilson of the principle of self-determination. National feeling ran high in Egypt. The leader of the Wafd (Delegation), of the Egyptian nation, Saad Zaghlul Pasha resolutely asked the British Resident in Cairo that Egypt should be allowed to present her case for independence at the Peace Conference of Paris. But the Egyptians were not given a hearing at that conference. Moreover, the British arrested Zaghlul Pasha and three of his companions and shipped them to Malta. This act forced them and of the nationalists and precipitated the Egyptian rising of 1919. The insurrection was so severe that 60 000 British soldiers under General Allenby were required to restore order. Eventually Zaghlul, the nationalist

¹ He died at Geneva in December 1944

leader, was released and a mission of investigation under Lord Milner was despatched to Egypt, but it was boycotted and returned discouraged. The Egyptians under the leadership of Zaghlul continued to clamour for complete independence.

Unrest in Egypt developed once more into a full-fledged rebellion. Zaghlul was again arrested and sent to Gibraltar and British troops were once more utilized to suppress the nationalist movement. General Allenby suggested then that England proclaim the terms of an agreement as a unilateral declaration. That famous declaration was issued on February 28, 1922; and although it verbally acknowledged Egypt to be "an independent sovereign State," its four reserved points, namely: the right to defend the Suez Canal; using Egyptian territory for military operations, if necessary; the defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference; the protection of foreigners and their interests in Egypt, and control of the Sudan, deprived the so-called independence of its value. While these four points, "absolutely reserved" by Great Britain pending future discussions, were left unsettled, the Egyptians were allowed to draw up a Constitution (1923), providing for the Government of Egypt as an independent constitutional monarchy with King Fuad I as sovereign, a cabinet responsible to parliament, and a parliament elected by the people. Parliamentary elections were held in 1924. The Wafdists were overwhelmingly victorious at the polls and Zaghlul, who had returned home

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again became Premier. Then in September, 1924 Mr Ramsay MacDonald again raised the matter of an agreement with Zaghlul Pasha in negotiations which ended in failure.

Another crisis occurred in November 1924 when General Sir Lee Stack, Governor General and Sardar (Commander in Chief) of the Egyptian Army, was assassinated in Cairo. The British issued a severe ultimatum. They demanded an official apology, the punishment of the criminals, the suppression of political demonstrations, an indemnity of half a million pounds and the immediate withdrawal of all Egyptian forces from the Sudan. They further announced the indefinite extension, for cotton cultivation, of the Jazirah irrigation area in the Sudan which involved a serious threat to Egypt's water supply. The Egyptians were further alarmed by successive British dam projects.

The growth of Egyptian nationalism made it increasingly difficult for Great Britain to hold a rebellious Egypt in subjection and remain in the country against the will of its inhabitants. For the next ten years, there were repeated Anglo Egyptian negotiations to settle the Egyptian question (Sir Austen Chamberlain-Sarwat Pasha in 1928, Mr Henderson-Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha in 1929, Mr Henderson-Nahas Pasha successor of Zaghlul¹ as chief of the Wafd, in 1930) but no agreement could be arrived at.

1 Zaghlul Pasha died in 1927

The Anglo-Egyptian controversy hinged chiefly on the "reserved points" already referred to. The Egyptian grievances were based on the military occupation by a foreign Power, the interference in Egyptian internal affairs in the interests of foreigners who enjoyed a highly privileged status due to the system of Capitulations, and the very limited participation of Egypt in the affairs of the Sudan. In these serious restrictions lay the source of much discontent and even of rebellion.

At the time of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, nationalist feeling was again becoming intense and even grave disturbances broke out. Great Britain was then evidently in need of Egyptian co-operation in naval and military precautions, and she realized that such an opportunity of reaching a settlement with Egypt should not be ignored. The Egyptians were determined to secure from the British Government the recognition of Egypt's right to complete independence. Anglo-Egyptian Treaty conversations were resumed, and the length of the negotiations in Cairo and in Alexandria was an ample proof of the difficulties encountered in reaching a settlement. The Egyptian delegation was presided over by Nahas Pasha, leader of the Wafd Party and Egyptian Premier, while Sir Miles Lampson (who later became Lord Killearn), British High Commissioner (later Ambassador) in Cairo, led the British negotiators.

On August 26, 1936, in the British Foreign Office in London, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was concluded,

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and Egypt's independence was formally recognized. This treaty was considered to be the most important event in Anglo Egyptian relations in the period between the two World Wars.

King Fuad I died on April 28 1936. He was succeeded by his son the young King Farouk (born February 11 1920) who was officially invested with sovereign prerogatives as the King of Egypt on July 29 1937, when he attained the age of eighteen calculated on the Hijri standard of lunar years.

The Treaty of 1936 provided for an alliance with a view to consolidating cordial understanding and good relations between Great Britain and Egypt. In the event of one of the parties becoming engaged in war the other undertook immediately to come to his aid in the capacity of an ally. The aid to be furnished by Egypt in the event of war consisted under Article VII of the Treaty, in furnishing to Great Britain on Egyptian territory, in accordance with the Egyptian system of administration and legislation, all the facilities and assistance in her power, including the use of her ports aerodromes, and means of communication and including the establishment of martial law and an effective censorship. The military clauses agreed to the transfer of the British garrisons to the Suez Canal zone, where a British military force limited to 10 000 land troops and 400 air pilots, was to remain until such time as both Governments agree that the Egyptian army was capable of taking its place as guardian of the Canal.

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The Egyptian Government undertook to construct and maintain a certain amount of roads, bridges, and railways for the military forces and for the maintenance of essential communications. A British military mission was sent to Egypt in order to help in the training of the Egyptian forces.

Henceforth the protection of foreigners was entrusted to the Egyptian Government. Moreover, the British Government recognized that the Capitulations were no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times and the present evolution of Egypt. It has, therefore, been provided that Egypt, with British support, demand the abolition of the Capitulations.

The Capitulations were a system inherited from Ottoman Turkey. They consisted of a grant to the nationals of foreign Powers of special commercial privileges, exemption from taxation, immunity from arrest and domiciliary visits, unless a consular agent accompanied the police, and last, but not least, the right to be tried only in their own consular courts. The Mixed Tribunals are derived from the Capitulations. They were created in 1876 by international convention to deal with cases between Egyptians and foreigners, foreigners of different nationalities, and foreigners and the Egyptian Government. The Capitulations impeded the development of the country seriously.

Preparations were made for an international conference to deal with the abolition of the Capitulations. The meeting of this important conference took place

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at Montreux on April 12, 1937, and it successfully terminated with the abolition of the Capitulations on favourable terms. It was also agreed to institute a transitional regime for the Mixed Tribunals which would continue to function for twelve years only, at the end of which time their jurisdiction was to be transferred to the Egyptian Courts.

Before the Egyptian Delegation to the Montreux Conference returned to Egypt, a special session of the Assembly of the League of Nations met on May 26 1937 and unanimously admitted Egypt as a sovereign State. Another restriction on Egyptian sovereignty was the continued existence of the *Caisse de la Dette Publique*, a vestige of foreign control in the country. Negotiations lasting on and off for about three years were necessary before the abolition by an Anglo-French Agreement, signed on July 18 1940, of the Egyptian Debt Control which went back to the days of Khedive Ismail Pasha when the enormous loans raised by him abroad caused anxiety among the Powers notably Great Britain and France as to the safety of their investments and a 'Dual Control' was instituted in 1876 to superintend Egypt's finances in the interests of her creditors. By the Agreement of July 1940, Egypt alone will through her National Bank, control the funding of the country's outstanding debt under the loans raised in the days of Ismail Pasha.

The Treaty of 1936 was subject to revision in detail as circumstances might demand but preserving

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the principles of mutual assistance and military co-operation in the event of attack upon either country.

On December 30, 1937, following a political crisis, King Farouk summarily dismissed the Cabinet of Mustafa Nahas Pasha, leader of the Wafd Party. The King then authorized the formation of a Cabinet under Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, former Premier and leader of the Liberal Constitutional Party, and prorogued Parliament for one month. The Wafd has subsequently been weakened by repeated dissidence. An important faction led by Ahmad Maher Pasha, President of the Chamber of Deputies, constituted the Saadist Party.

On August 12, 1939, the Prime Minister, Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha resigned on grounds of ill-health¹. Then Ali Maher Pasha, the chief of the Royal Cabinet, formed a Cabinet composed of Saadists and Independents, on August 18, 1939. A few days later (August 21, 1939), the Council of Ministers decided that Egypt should recognize the U. S. S. R., and that trade relations should be recommenced on an understanding by the Soviet Government not to spread Communist propaganda in Egypt.

On the outbreak of the Second World War, Egypt broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on September 3, 1939. The Egyptian Government pledged itself to carry out the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty loyally in letter and in spirit, while keeping Egypt

1. He died on January 31, 1941.

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out of war When Italy declared war on the Allies, the Egyptian Government severed diplomatic relations with Italy on June 12 1940¹ Furthermore, she sent a note to the Italian Government, received in Rome on June 15, stating that Egypt would only take part in the war if Italian troops invaded Egyptian territory, bombarded Egyptian towns, or carried out air raids on Egyptian military objectives

Under British pressure the Ali Maher Cabinet resigned on June 23 and King Farouk invited Hassan Sabry Pasha former Egyptian Ambassador in London and Minister for War, to form a new Cabinet Sabry Pasha's Cabinet consisted of a coalition representative of all parties except the Wafd led by Nahas Pasha, which refused to join any coalition unless a general election were held

On September 13, 1940 Axis troops, under Marshal Graziani invaded Egypt and reached Sidi Barrani, but stayed there for nearly three months On December 11 1940 it was the British army's turn General Wavell who had been reinforced with Indian Australian and New Zealand troops opened an armoured and mechanized offensive which in 62 days drove the Italians not merely out of Egypt but out of Cyrenaica Then Allied reverses followed and Wavell was driven back to the Egyptian frontier in the spring of 1941 On July 1 he relinquished the command and was succeeded by General Auchinleck,

¹ The Italian Ambassador Count Mar-ollini left Cairo on June 23 1940

who, on November 18, opened another offensive. It relieved Tobruk and on December 24, recaptured Benghazi. But it failed (as Wavell's had) before the lines of El-Agheila, and a German counter-offensive threw it back to Ghazala in the middle of Cyrenaica. Four months of waiting followed, and then Marshal Rommel, the German Commander, attacked in June, 1942. The British force was defeated, and chased back into Egypt. Tobruk fell, Wavell's old retiring limit was passed, and the German advance continued to El-Alamein, the last defensive position before Alexandria, at the beginning of July. But another offensive launched by Rommel on August 31 was held, until the British Eighth Army, under Marshal Montgomery launched its counter-offensive on October 23, 1942, and, after twelve days of ceaseless attacks and fierce fighting, obtained a decisive victory over the Axis army and drove the enemy out of the country. A few days later (November 8, 1942), new British and American armies were disembarked in Morocco and Algeria, and thenceforward the initiative in the Mediterranean rested with the Allies.

With regard to the political situation in Egypt, successive crises supervened. On November 14, 1940, the Prime Minister, Hassan Sabry Pasha, collapsed while reading the Speech from the Throne at the Assembly of Parliament and died soon afterwards. On the following day, a new Cabinet was formed by Hussein Sirry Pasha, who, like his predecessor, was not a leader of any party. He held office until he had

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to resign on February 2 1942. At that time, with the Germans threatening Alexandria, the military position looked very critical. On February 4 1942, British direct intervention accompanied by an intimidating show of military power within the gates of Abdin Palace where King Farouk was waiting to receive Lord Killearn, the British Ambassador, and General Stone brought back Nahas Pasha to power. His Cabinet remained in office until it was dismissed by King Farouk on October 9 1944. The new Cabinet was formed by Dr Ahmad Maher Pasha, President of the Saadist Party.

On February 24, 1945, after making a statement in Parliament announcing Egypt's declaration of war against Germany and Japan Ahmad Maher Pasha was shot dead in Parliament by a young lawyer, Mahmoud El-Issawi. He was succeeded by his lieutenant and co-worker, Mahmoud Fahmy El-Nokrashy Pasha as Premier.

In a note sent in December, 1945, to the British Government the Cairo Government requested that negotiations for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 should begin at an early date. For, Egypt considered that the Treaty has become obsolete since the end of the war and the plans elaborated towards the organization of world peace have created conditions which justify such a revision. The Egyptians unanimously demanded the complete evacuation of British troops of the entire territory of Egypt including the Suez Canal, and the recognition of

Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan Early in 1946 there was a rapidly growing political tension which culminated in severe agitation and anti-British demonstrations during February in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities. Nokrashy Pasha's Ministry resigned on February 15, and, two days later, Ismail Sidky Pasha veteran politician and former Premier, formed the new Cabinet

The British Government consented to open negotiations and, after prolonged preliminary discussions, the first formal meeting of the British and Egyptian Treaty revision delegates was held on May 9, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cairo. The British negotiators included Sir Ronald Campbell who succeeded Lord Killearn as British Ambassador in Egypt.

Lord Stansgate, leader of the British delegation, announced to the Egyptian negotiators, led by Sidky Pasha, the Labour Government's decision to withdraw all British military forces from Egypt. The negotiations for new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty were laborious and protracted, and, after having been repeatedly interrupted, they were taken up in London, in October 1946, in the form of informal talks between the Egyptian Premier Sidky Pasha and the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin. On his return to Egypt, Sidky Pasha reported, somewhat boastfully, that the new draft treaty called for the complete evacuation of British troops from Egypt in less than three years,

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and that Britain had accepted the unity of Egypt with the Sudan under the Egyptian crown

But two days later (October 28) the British Premier Mr Attlee announced in the House of Commons that the Egyptian Premier's statements were 'partial and misleading', there had been no negotiations in London but merely conversations on a personal and exploratory basis and no change in the existing *status quo* and administration of the Sudan was contemplated by the British Government. These statements aroused a storm of protest in Egypt where the leaders of the Opposition demanded the resignation of Sidky's Cabinet, and the Egyptian masses also disagreed with Sidky Pasha's optimistic view of the draft treaty.

A critical situation was rapidly developing, as several of the Egyptian negotiators publicly objected to the draft agreement, and for more than a week during November, riots and demonstrations broke out, mainly in Cairo and Alexandria, where the demonstrators demanded the speedier evacuation of British troops and the union of Egypt and the Sudan. Although as a gesture of appeasement King Farouk dissolved the delegation entrusting further negotiations to Premier Sidky Pasha and the Foreign Minister Ibrahim Abdul Hady Pasha the political tension continued owing to the strong opposition of important political parties the Wafd the Nationalist party the Young Egypt (Misr al Fatat) party and the

Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*).¹ They would not accept a treaty which they believe falls short of realizing Egypt's national aspirations because of three major defects: British evacuation of Egypt would take too long (scheduled for completion in September 1946); the terms of future Anglo-Egyptian

1 As already pointed out, the originally very strong Wafd Party suffered from repeated dissidence, owing to the personal ambitions and rivalries of its leaders. Besides the important Saadist faction, now led by Nokrashy Pasha, there is the Kotla faction, headed by Maḥram Ebeid Pasha.

The Nationalist Party (*al-Hizb al-Waṭanī*) is a small group which has, among its prominent leaders, a distinguished patriotic historian and lawyer, Abdurrahman al-Rafai Bey. This party has in the past been characterized by its insistence upon the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, before the conclusion of any Anglo-Egyptian negotiations.

The Young Egypt Party was founded some fifteen years ago by Ahmed Hussein, a young and ardent patriot, who is also a lawyer. He had around him a band of active co-workers, outstanding among whom was Fathi Radwan, a talented publicist and lawyer. Since its foundation, this party, with an important following among the students, carries on an extensive propaganda and action for the cause of Egyptian independence. It also strongly advocates social reform and Arab unity.

The Muslim Brotherhood movement was founded by Shaikh Hassan al-Banna while he was a school teacher at Ismailia on the Suez Canal, about sixteen years ago. It aimed at a revival of Islam in all domains and the formation of a new generation which should be imbued with the genuine spirit of Islam, following its teachings. An intelligent and persuasive orator, Shaikh al-Banna quickly gained followers and his well-organized party, which had transferred its headquarters to Cairo in 1934, developed into a wide popular movement with branches throughout Egypt. This powerful organization has now consolidated its position as one of the leading political parties in Egypt, and its influence has begun to spread into the neighbouring Arab countries, for it is also a vigorous champion of their independence as well as of general Muslim solidarity. It has published its own daily paper since early 1946, and its membership, estimated at well over half a million, is steadily increasing. It is at present influencing Egyptian public life immensely.

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military co-operation might expose Egypt to reoccupation by Britain, and Egypt's relations with other countries might in consequence be jeopardized, and, finally the Sudan would not come under effective Egyptian rule

On December 8 Sidky Pasha whose health has for some time been failing submitted the resignation of his Cabinet to King Farouk. On the following day Mahmoud El-Nokrashy Pasha—who was Prime Minister of the Saadist-Liberal coalition from February 1945 to February 1946—formed a new government, mainly a Saadist Liberal coalition¹ which announced as its chief aim the conduction of the Treaty negotiations with Britain endeavouring to bring them to a successful conclusion

Immense progress has been made during the past ten years in the sphere of internal development. Communications have been extended. A suspension bridge constructed since the outbreak of the Second World War across the Suez Canal established connection between Cairo and Beirut *via* the northern extension of the Palestinian railway system, from Haifa to Tripoli (in Syria) and there is now a continuous line linking the Libyan port of Tobruk and Istanbul as the Egyptian coastal railway has been extended into Cyrenaica

¹ The Liberal Constitutional Party is now led by Hussein Helkal Pasha a competent politician and one of Egypt's foremost and very influential writers

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Air transport activity has also increased recently. The National Mīsr Airways operate various air services within the country, and link Egypt with the various regions of the Middle East. There is also a direct telephonic line between Cairo and Khartoum, which was inaugurated in May, 1945.

Irrigation which occupies a predominant place in the economic development of the country, has been much improved and extended by means of the construction of various reservoirs and barrages, namely, at Jebel Aulia (1937), Esna, Nag Hammadi, Assiut and Zifta as well as the Mohammed Ali Barrages near Cairo. Perennial irrigation is now largely facilitated.

Successive Egyptian governments have taken many steps in the past to utilize the resources of Nile, owing to the fact that Egypt depends on imported coal and oil for fuel. A hydro-electric scheme is planned for the important Assuan Dam to provide Egypt with cheap electric power for industrial development now under consideration. Situated in the Upper reaches of the Nile, the Assuan Dam has been twice heightened.

The leading Egyptian crop, and by far the most important factor in its economy, is cotton. Egypt is the main producer of long staple cotton and, before World War II, was the third largest cotton exporter after the U.S.A. and India. Cotton accounted in the pre-war years for about 85 per cent of Egypt's total exports. In recent years there has been a notable

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increase in the production of cereals and of flax of a very high quality. Fruit growing especially citrus has been fostered as well.

While Egypt is essentially an agricultural country (about eighty per cent of its population is engaged in agriculture) there has been a notable industrial development during recent years especially where industry could be based upon local raw material. The principal articles of manufacture are cotton and woollen fabrics silks embroideries brass, silver and copper ware, leather goods rugs sugar and cigarettes. Among the principal industries are dyeing tanning and cement. There is a film industry as well. Other enterprises have been created by war necessities such as those of canned foods, medicaments and chemical products. Egypt produces 0.3 per cent of the world's oil and possesses important chrome and iron ore reserves.

A new ministry for social affairs was created in 1939 and social work is being organized with the aid of voluntary organizations. There are many child-welfare centres maternity hospitals nurseries and prenatal clinics. The 'Union for Social Reform' runs nursery schools and schools of economics for girls. Thanks to a favourable legislation the consumers co-operative organizations have greatly developed and are considered to be a regulating element in economic life. The number of Egypt's co-operatives had risen from 150 societies and 12 000 members in 1929 to 1,344 societies and 325 000 members in 1943. Besides their

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purely economic tasks, these co-operatives fulfil also important functions in the domain of social hygiene, education and the betterment of the conditions of existence of the agricultural masses (the fellaheen) and the workers in industries

Education was made compulsory for all children between the ages of 7 and 12 in 1933. Educational institutes are increasing; and there are today three universities in Egypt, Fuad I and Al-Azhar in Cairo, and Farouk I University, founded in Alexandria in 1943

The birth-rate is very high. With forty-three annual births per thousand inhabitants, Egypt is one of the fastest growing nations. The population has increased from 14,217,864 in the 1927 census to an estimated population of over seventeen million today.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

The Sudan, which is a vast country covering more than a million square miles, was a part of Egypt since its conquest by the troops of Mohammed Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, more than a century ago. The rule of Egypt was extended gradually into the Sudan during the course of sixty years. After the Mahdī rising in 1884, the country had to be reconquered, which was done by Egyptian armies under Lord Kitchener and finished in 1898, when the overthrow of the Khalifa of the Mahdī was brought about.

A convention between the British and Egyptian Governments, signed at Cairo, January 19, 1899,

provided for the administration of the Sudan by a Governor-General, appointed by Egypt on the recommendation of Great Britain. The Sudan became an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, but only the agents and lower functionaries were recruited among the Egyptians. The Governor General rules the country autocratically through eight provincial governors. Following upon the assassination of the Sardar in 1924, Great Britain deliberately removed the Egyptian elements from the administration of the Sudan and placed the entire native troops under British command.

The population of the Sudan according to the most recent estimates is about 6 591 000. The capital Khartoum is a modern well planned city and is a great meeting place for traffic by rail river road and air. It is directly connected by rail with the well-equipped harbour of Port Sudan on the Red Sea. Moreover, it is a great air junction for overseas airways flying between Cairo and the Cape and also across to West Africa. There is landline, wireless and telephone communication with Egypt. More than 1 400 kilometres of railways have been constructed. Rail transport and river navigation are in the hands of the State and the public utility services are also State-managed.

The great dam of Sinnar assures the cultivation of an area of 300 000 acres. Cotton is cultivated in the Sudan on a rapidly increasing scale. The total area under cotton in the 1941-42 season was 401 546

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acres. The Sudan Plantation Syndicate, Ltd. founded in 1904, with a capital of £80,000 increased since then to £22,50,000. It has set up a vast organization to create land subdivisions. Moreover it has built whole villages, and it functions as a bank by granting advances upon the crops and works as a *régie mixte*, in order to increase the production of cotton. This company reported that profits for the year ended June 30, 1945, amounted to £7,08,308. The Kassal Cotton Company, Ltd. controlled by the Syndicate, made a profit of £1,42,117. In 1944, the Sudan Government decided to end the concession of the Sudan Plantation Syndicate, Ltd, i.e., to nationalize the famous Gezrah Scheme.

The Sudan produces about 50,000 tons of cotton per annum, of the best quality, the "Sekellaridis," particularly appreciated because of its long fibres, and no other country but Egypt produces it. The Sudan is also the chief source of the world's supply of gum arabic. Gold is at present being successfully exploited.

In 1943, an Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan was constituted, which enables the British Governor-General to consult representative persons and to explain Government policy. In the Southern Sudan, the British administration has supported Christian missionary activities, which further the British influence in the whole area.

Education has made great strides as a result of the programme of expansion recommended by the de la

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Warr Commission in 1937 In 1944, it was decided to turn Gordon's Memorial College at Khartoum into a university There is a growing urban class of educated Sudanese Many of these are being employed in positions of executive responsibility

A distinct national consciousness has become manifest in the Sudan, particularly among the educated Sudanese The Sudan problem has been the main stumbling-block of the recent Anglo Egyptian Treaty revision talks in London Egypt demanded the unity of the Nile valley in the framework of the Egyptian State but the British Government countered the Egyptian claim by suggesting that when the time will be ripe for the Sudanese to choose their own future they should be free to say if they so desire that they choose either to fuse with Egypt or to join her or the British Commonwealth as a dominion Moreover Sir Hubert Huddleston, the Governor-General of the Sudan declared that the arrangement proposed by the British Government for the Sudan left the Sudanese free to choose their own future and in no way prejudiced their right to achieve their independence

In the Sudan itself a large section of the Sudanese people is willing to unite with Egypt and this union is strongly advocated by the National Front with a considerable membership of Sudanese intelligentsia and led by Sayed Sir Ali el Mirghani Pasha The *Ashiqqa* (Brothers) Party which merged into the Nile

Valley Unity Party, created early in 1946, also sets out the unity of Egypt and the Sudan as its political aim. On the other hand, a separatist movement is led by the presumably British-supported Umma Party which is opposed to incorporating the Sudan into Egypt. Its leader, Sayed Sir Abdurrahman al-Mahdi Pasha, the Mahdi's son, came to London in November 1946 to press the claim of the Umma Party for immediate self-determination and the recognition of the sovereignty of the Sudan for the Sudanese.

The Sudan is vital to Egypt's Nile water-supply and also to her security in the south. The Egyptians consider the Sudanese their own fellow countrymen, linked by common ties of religion, language, culture and even economic interests. The Sudan has a great future before it and it may look to play a useful rôle in the progress of the Nile valley.

TROUBLED PALESTINE

In the famous Balfour Declaration of 1917, England promised to establish in Palestine "a national home for the Jewish people." This declaration was confirmed by the Mandate which Great Britain received over Palestine after the First World War. This greatly disappointed the Arab majority of the country. The Arabs found little consolation in the statement that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities. In fact, they failed to see how any part of the arrangement could be reconciled

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with Britain's war-time parallel promises and pledges of Arab independence. Nor were they made any happier to hear the first British High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel, state upon his arrival in the Holy Land that 'the policy of His Majesty's Government which I have come out to execute is to encourage the immigration of the Jews until a point shall be reached—it may be fifty or a hundred years hence—at which their interests shall be sufficiently predominant to warrant the establishment of Jewish government in Palestine

The discontent of the Arabs with the political economic and religious conditions created by the policy of the Mandatory Government culminated in a most serious outbreak in 1929. The British Government rushed warships and airplanes to the scene and the increased military forces finally restored order. A British Commission of Inquiry under Sir Walter Shaw established that the Arab feeling of animosity and hostility towards the Zionists was consequent upon the disappointment of their political and national aspirations and fear for their economic future. The Arabs complained that the land legislation by enabling the Jews to buy large portions of land was threatening the existence of the Arabs. They objected to the facilitation given to Jewish immigration for by 1930 the number of Jews had increased to more than 160 000. And Palestine, after all, is an Arab country since eighteen centuries

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The British policy antagonized both the Arabs in Palestine and those who had co-operated with Great Britain against the Turks, on the understanding that an independent Arab empire would be one of the fruits of a war fought for the principles of freedom and self-determination. The Arabs had nothing against the Jews as Jews, indeed Arabs have long lived in friendliness with them in many parts of the East. It is against Zionism that their policy was directed. Furthermore, the British policy in Palestine in the period between the two world wars, with its measures of repression and recrimination, only drove the Arabs into deeper conflict with the Jewish community.

In 1933, the Jewish immigration assumed more formidable proportions, owing to the anti-semitic policy of Nazi Germany and her imitators in Europe. The Arabs became violently opposed to the tremendous increase in the number of Jewish immigrants. In 1929 already, the Shaw Commission stated that Jewish immigration had been in excess of the country's power of absorption. Despite that, the Arabs have seen as many Jews given permission to remain permanently in Palestine during 1934 and 1935, as the registered entries during the entire first decade of the Mandate. The total of new Jewish settlers for the two years in question was 104,213. Arab opinion in all Arab countries was unanimous in maintaining that unrestricted Jewish immigration would inevitably convert the Palestine Arabs into a

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powerless minority As for the Jews, many of them, even those who do not count themselves as Zionists were at one with Zionism in holding that to limit immigration was contrary to their conception of the national home

In November 1935 the Arabs presented the High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope with demands for the establishment of democratic government the prohibition of land sales by Arabs to Jews and the cessation of Jewish immigration pending a further inquiry into that problem

The British Commission under Lord Peel which was sent to Palestine in 1936, found the country ablaze from end to end The Arabs organized a huge strike and an open rebellion with guerrilla war for several months They claimed the recognition of Palestine as an independent Arab State subject to certain provisions for British Imperial interests, for, Palestine is an essential halting-place for the network of airways and its Port Haifa is the outlet for the oil of Mosul

The Zionists pointed to their enterprize and capital in Palestine and the ensuing prosperity and economic progress But in reality, the prosperity and economic development of the country affects mainly the Jewish community And the Arab leaders argue that no nation will sell its aspirations to independence and sovereignty for the sake of schools, hospitals and metal roads

The political situation in Palestine, meanwhile, continued to remain critical. In July, 1937, the Royal Commission, under Lord Peel, recommended the splitting of Palestine into three parts: a Jewish State, an Arab State and a territory under British mandate, including Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. This plan was bitterly opposed by the Arabs and, with them, all other Islamic countries. Tension continued brewing beneath the surface, and there were disturbances during 1938.

In May 1939, the British Government issued a White Paper in which it showed a conciliating attitude towards the Arabs. Briefly, it provided for the establishment, within ten years, of an independent Palestine State, under special treaty relations with Great Britain, in order to preserve British interests in that region. Representative institutions were to be set up by agreement five years after the restoration of order which would safeguard both Arab and Jewish communities. Meanwhile, Jewish immigration was to be limited to the number of 75,000 annually, and further transfers of Arab lands to Jews controlled.

Whereas the Arabs then showed a certain measure of acquiescence and looked upon the White Paper as a basis of relative protection against outrageous wrong, the Zionists engaged in indignant protests against what they considered to be an abandonment of their cause.

At the outbreak of war, the position in Palestine was changed; and racial and party strife was stilled.

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Offers of service to the Allied cause were made by both Arabs and Jews. The Government of Palestine recruited for Palestinian (mixed Jewish and Arab) units, serving in various capacities with the British Army in the Middle East. The cessation of internal strife naturally did not imply that either community had abandoned their political aims. The Arabs expected—as a first step towards their emancipation—the Mandatory Power to carry out according to plan the various policies embodied in the 1939 White Paper. The Jews, on the other hand suggested that the war-time truce ought to imply a standstill in the execution of this policy.

After the cessation of hostilities a World Zionists Conference met in London and issued a political declaration in August 1945 repeating the chief demands of the movement and urging Britain to abandon the policy of the 1939 White Paper and to allow free admission of Jewish immigrants to Palestine.

As for the Palestinian Arabs they held that the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish National Home represented the principal obstacle to the attainment of that independence, on which their aspirations had continuously been fixed. Their opposition to Zionist policy was further embittered by the fact that the Anglo American Committee of Inquiry, sent to Palestine early in 1946 recommended the immediate admission of 100 000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine. This provoked bitter indignation and resentment in

the whole Arab world. Tension was rapidly increasing to a dangerous limit. In such a situation the position of the Mandatory Power became extremely difficult. In its endeavours to avoid the open hostility of the Islamic world, which was very anxious over the position of the Palestinian Arabs, the British Government adopted a temporizing attitude by not sanctioning the immediate entry of 100,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine.

This decision, at a time when Zionist agitation was gathering force, precipitated a violent anti-British action among the Jews in Palestine. Terrorism on a large scale was launched by the Jewish military organizations and underground groups, namely, the *Haganah*, "Self-Defence", which is an 80,000 strong Zionist army, having a semi-legal status and built up by the Jewish Agency, the terrorist *Irgun Zvai Leumi*, "National Military Organization", the "Stern Group", "Star-Fighters for the freedom of Israel", and a motorized field force, "*Palmach*". This wave of terrorism has been sweeping Palestine since June 1946, and involved a Jewish mass strike, shooting of British officers and soldiers, armed assaults on public buildings, and bridges, and bomb outrages of which the most terrible was that carried out on July 22, at the King David Hotel, seat of the British Headquarters at Jerusalem, and in which some 100 persons died and a larger number were wounded.

It is a tragic fact that unscrupulous Zionist terrorism in Palestine has resulted in an alienation of

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sympathy in the civilized world for the terrible sufferings and persecutions of their co religionaries in Europe. Of course not all Jews are Zionists, and there are sections of world Jewry which disapproved of the fanatic intolerance of the Zionist zealots and enthusiasts. Yet the fact remains that Zionist policy and methods of unrestrained extremism have continuously darkened the prospect of any genuine conciliation and peaceful relations among Arabs and Jews. Therein lies a permanent source of anxiety, which makes Palestine one of the dangerous storm centres in the Middle East.

To the inextricable situation in Palestine, the Anglo-American Commission charged to inquire into and regulate the Jewish problem attempted to find a solution. The Anglo American experts recommended a new plan, providing for partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish provinces under a central government on a federative basis and for the admission of a new contingent of 100 000 Jewish refugees during the year 1946. The delegations furthermore recommended that demands should be made to other States to receive a certain number of Jewish refugees in an effort to relieve the Jewish displaced persons in Europe. This scheme has satisfied neither the Jews nor the Arabs.

Confronted with the unanimous support of the Arab world—nay, of the whole Islamic world and the Muslim League in India has been equally plain-

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spoken to their brethren in Palestine, and the increasing menace of positive Arab hostility, the British Government decided that the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine will be suspended, pending the meeting of a Palestine Round Table Conference to meet in September in London, and to include representatives of both the Jewish community and the Arab States.

Following a conference over Arab affairs of the Chiefs of the Arab States in Egypt in May 1946, the Arab League held an extraordinary meeting at Bloudan, near Damascus in June. The British Government was invited, in a League memorandum, issued in early July, to enter into negotiations with a view to replacing the *status quo* in Palestine by conditions conforming with the spirit of the United Nations pact and in accordance with the decision taken by the United Nations at its first session. Under this decision Governments having interests in the matter were urged to enter into negotiations with the Mandatory Power. Pending the conclusion of the negotiations, the Arab States urged the British Government to avoid taking measures contrary to the pledges given in the 1939 White Paper.

The memorandum added that since the appointment of the members of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, the partiality of some of them, who were known to be extreme supporters of Zionism, has become evident. While the Arab League did not recognize the legality of the Commission, it did not

boycott it but co-operated in its work. The Palestine problem was not the result of the Nazi persecution of Jews, but was the direct result of the British policy since the Balfour Declaration.

The memorandum further declared that if America's activities had been confined to the relief and protection of persecuted Jews in Europe, they would have been acceptable on humanitarian grounds. Moreover such praiseworthy activities would have received the full sympathy of the Arab States. But the material and moral support continuously received by Zionists from the United States had produced a dangerous situation, because Zionists thought they could rely on the world's greatest Power to dictate their will to the unarmed people of Palestine. Furthermore, the Zionist policy would ultimately bring about a clash between Arab interests and policy and the interests of the United States.

The memorandum claimed also that "whereas the British Government treated the Arabs with the utmost cruelty when they rose to defend their existence, it was treating Jewish aggression with patience and tolerance.

Early in August an Arab mission composed of both Muslims and Christians and representing the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine was received by the Pope to whom it presented a memorandum in accordance with the decision of the Palestine Arabs, supported by the League of Arab States to appeal to

Muslim and Christian public opinion in defence of their cause

The fundamental issue is clear. The problem of relief of Jewish distress in Europe is quite distinct from the Palestine problem. As for the former, civilized humanity has a task of relieving the distress of Jewish displaced persons in Europe. The Arab countries are prepared to join with Western States in accepting an agreed upon quota of immigrants to ease the present affliction.

As for the latter, the Arabs are determined to oppose any partition scheme and never to permit the Jews to become a majority in Palestine. While the Jews steadfastly accept no solution short of the realization of the National Home, and they are supported by a powerful section of American Jewry which wield a strong political and financial influence in America, and who have identified themselves with the extreme Zionist programme of extending the original conception of a National Home in Palestine to an all-Jewish State embracing Palestine and Transjordan. In view of the ultimate necessity for peaceful and mutually tolerant relations between the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine, the Round Table Palestine Conference, which was held in London in September 1946, under the auspices of the British Government, was earnestly looked for.

The area of Palestine is 27,009 square kilometres, comprising a water area of 704 square kilometres. In

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an estimated total population of 1,821,000 inhabitants 1 074 000 are Muslims, 137,000 Christians and 610 000 Jews Fifteen years ago, there were 760 000 Muslims 89 000 Christians and 175 000 Jews The increase in the Jewish population has been contributed by immigration The increase in the Arab population is due to natural increase resulting from the high birth-rate

TRANSJORDAN

Transjordan is an artificial State created by Great Britain in 1922 As a result of the partition of Syria, after the First World War into French and British mandated territories, the region to the east of the Jordan river fell to the lot of Britain along with Palestine. With its 35 000 square mile territory, which is bounded on the west by the Jordan valley and on the east by the Arabian desert, Transjordan has a homogeneous Arab population estimated at about 450,000 inhabitants It has been governed by a local Arab administration, assisted by a few British officials, under Emir Abdullah second son of the late King Hussain of Hijaz and elder brother of the late King Faisal I of Iraq Britain has paid an annual grant-in-aid to Transjordan since this satellite country came into existence twenty-four years ago The ruler has been assisted by a council of ministers which was set up in August 1939

The Transjordan Arab Legion of 16 000 men includes both the army and the police of the State, and

is commanded by Britain's influential agent, Brigadier J. B. Glubb (Glubb Pasha). The troops wear British uniform with Arab head-dresses and they carry British arms.

There is little economic development as the country's mineral resources are only just beginning to be exploited. Education is making slow progress.

The people of Transjordan have always sympathized passionately with the Arab cause in Palestine. When the war broke out in 1939, and also in the following years of stress, Emir Abdullah assured Great Britain of his active support. In 1941, the Arab Legion marched with the British Army to the capture of Baghdad at the time of the Iraqi rising, and thence to the driving of the Vichy forces from Syria.

In April 1946, the British Government decided to grant independence to Transjordan. Emir Abdullah paid a visit to London, and a treaty was signed recognizing his country as a sovereign and independent State, which soon joined the Arab League. On May 25, 1946, in his capital, Amman, Emir Abdullah became King of Transjordan. Representatives of the Arab States, including the Regent of Iraq, came for the enthronement ceremonies. In November 1946, Emir Abdul Majid, cousin of King Abdullah, was appointed first Minister of Transjordan to Britain.

THE LEVANT STATES OF SYRIA AND LEBANON

The history of the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon, which covered the period between the

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two world wars, constitutes a sad story. It started with the occupation of Damascus in 1920. One of the first steps taken by the mandatory government was to subdivide the area arbitrarily into five distinct regions: the Republic of Lebanon on the coastal area, including all the chief ports, the Jebel Druse, the mountain district in the south, the territory of the Alawites, the two small provincial districts of Latakia and Alexandretta on the extreme north of the coast and the State of Syria, comprising all the remainder with its capital at Damascus. This arbitrary division was an application of the Roman maxim *divide et impera*, and was one of the chief grievances of the Syrians, who maintained that the French sought to establish their power by fostering particularism and indulging in favouritism. The nationalists pointed to the fact that throughout history, Syria had been an entity which comprised roughly the area covered by Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan. Opposition to the mandate—which was acquired against the wishes of the inhabitants—was intensified by bitter resentment at a partition which was quite contrary to the country's economic and administrative advantages for which unity was a necessity. But political motives dictated the division, namely, to weaken the power of the Syrian nation as a whole, the 'States', parties, religious denominations: Muslims, Maronites, Orthodox Greek Christians, Melchites, Greek and Roman Catholics, Armenians, Druses, and so forth, and the minorities were played

off systematically one against the other in the interests of French colonial policy

This was the foundation of the policy pursued by the French authorities. It was then fostered by the systematic introduction of foreign settlers, belonging to different races. As the favoured officials of the French Government, as members of the police or the independent troops completely subordinated to French influence, they were rightly regarded as the executors of the will of France.

The first period of the Mandatory Government comprised three and a half years of General Gouraud's rule. On his appointment as High Commissioner in November 1919, he declared his principal task to be the economic reconstruction of the country, but this was relegated to the background, for Gouraud devoted himself to pursuing the political aims of his Government. On September 1, 1920, he proclaimed in Beirut, in the name of the French Republic, the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon. Such was the fulfilment of France's efforts to extend its colonial rule to the Eastern Mediterranean basin. As was to be expected, the creation of this new state came as a blow to the Syrian nationalist movement and riots broke out in protest and spread.

The policy of Gouraud's successors, Weygand, Serrail, de Jouvenel and Ponset, followed, more or less, the programme of their predecessor. The division of the country continued, and dissatisfaction

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with such a disintegrating policy found expression in repeated risings, one of which was the serious revolt of the Druses in 1925. General Serrail who favoured high-handed methods antagonized a large section of the population and the bombardment of Damascus in October 1925 was a serious blow to French prestige. Following the ruthless suppression of this insurrection, the Mandatory Government failed to pursue a constructive policy. On the contrary, a later High Commissioner, Comte de Martel, in January 1936 ordered a further parcelling of Syria with independent financial and administrative organizations. The carrying out of this scheme, however, was hindered by the rising in Syria in January-February 1936. A 50 days strike was proclaimed, the market-places were closed for several weeks, French companies were boycotted and serious outbreaks took place at Damascus, Homs, Aleppo and Deir ez Zor in which there were heavy casualties among the population.

Furthermore Syria was suffering very seriously in the economic field under the Mandate. High taxation, the maintenance of enormous numbers of French and colonial troops of occupation in the country and the tendency to neglect rural problems in a primarily agricultural country had disastrous effects. For more than a decade no major port works were undertaken though such works were essential.

The Syrian nationalist movement gained in intensity and the nationalists asserted their claim to

emancipation from French tutelage and their right to national sovereignty. After long and violent agitation by Syrian and Lebanese nationalists, the French decided in March 1936, to negotiate

After several months of negotiations in Paris, M. Viénot, the French delegate, who had resolved to bring negotiations to a successful conclusion, on September 9, 1936, signed a Franco-Syrian Treaty with the head of the Syrian delegation, Hashim Bey al-Atassi. A similar Franco-Lebanese Treaty was also signed between France and the Lebanon on November 13, 1936. Both treaties seemed to follow closely the model of the British-Iraqi Treaty of 1930, though the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of August 26, 1936, seemed also to have inspired some of their provisions. The independence of the Syrian and Lebanese Republics was recognized, to take effect in three years. In return both Levant States accepted a twenty-five-year alliance with France, and gave certain military, economic and cultural guarantees.

The Syrian problem thus seemed settled. There was loyal co-operation at Damascus between the nationalists and the French authorities despite the cession of the Sanjak of Alexandretta by the Mandatory Power to Turkey. But the French Government's delay in presenting the Treaty to Parliament and the encouragement which was given to separatist movements by certain French officers, convinced Syrian opinion that France wished to mutilate or even annul the Treaty.

In this atmosphere of tension the Syrian Premier Jamil Mardam Bey, left Damascus in August 1938 for Paris to negotiate with M Bonnet, Foreign Minister. A declaration was then issued in November, expressing the hope that 'the French Parliament, to which the report of the relevant committees will be presented before December 10, will authorize the ratification of the Franco Syrian Treaty before January 31 1939. Under these conditions the transfer of functions from the Mandatory Power to the Syrian Government will occur during February 1939. Furthermore the date for Syria's admission to the League of Nations was fixed at September 30 1939.

Yet the Syrian Prime Minister had not yet returned to Damascus, when M Bonnet, under the pressure of intrigues in the French Senate, declared in December that for the moment he would not bring the Treaty before the Chamber for ratification. Both treaties (with Syria and Lebanon) were thus never ratified by the French Parliament.

This violation by France of her solemn promise less than a month after it had been given, naturally had disastrous consequences in Syria. Jamil Mardam Bey left office in February 1939 and was followed by two Cabinets, which lasted only a few weeks. There was severe indignation in the country, and the situation became so grave that the French High Commissioner took over the police force and in March occupied Damascus with troops. The situation was

further aggravated in July, when the French authorities decided to introduce legislative and administrative modifications. As a result, Hashim Bey al-Atassi resigned from his office as President of the Syrian Republic.

The High Commissioner adopted drastic measures by suspending the Constitution, dismissing the Chamber and entrusting power to a *directoire* subject to his own supervision. He also declared that the country should harbour "no illusion as to the permanence of French rule in Syria," and that he himself was in favour of prolonging the mandatory regime and direct French rule in defiance of the promises which the French Government had been making ever since March 1936. The ruthless purge of the administration and the heavy penalties which were inflicted on the nationalists following this announcement showed very clearly the new direction of the French policy in the Levant.

In 1941, hostilities broke out between the French Vichy troops in Syria and Lebanon and the Allied Forces (British and Free French) in the Middle East, the latter having been directed to prevent further Axis penetration into Syria. After thirty-five days' fighting, the Syrian campaign came to an end, on July 11, when the representatives of General Dentz, Vichy High Commissioner, accepted the Allied terms.

When the Allied forces entered Syria, the Arabs took the opportunity to press for independence.

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British intentions in regard to Syria were explained by Mr Churchill in the House of Commons, when he declared that 'We seek no British advantage in Syria. Our only object in occupying the country has been to beat the Germans. With the departure of the officials of Vichy France the way was clear for the Free French to fulfil the pledges to Syria which, they jointly with the British gave to the Syrian people before the beginning of the military operations to expel the Axis-Vichy sympathizers. Independence was then promised to the Syrians by the Free French and guaranteed by Great Britain. Under an agreement signed by General Catroux on behalf of the French Committee of National Liberation, and by representatives of Syria and Lebanon 'all powers and capacities hitherto exercised by the French under mandate were transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments as from January 1 1944 '.

But two years later in 1943, serious outbreaks arose in Lebanon where full recognition of independence was demanded by the people. The French High Commissioner took the extreme step of arresting the President of the Lebanese Republic and the Prime Minister which caused a wave of indignation in all Arab States and precipitated so much disturbance that the British had to request General de Gaulle to set right the grievous wrong done to the Lebanese cause. The prisoners were released and the Lebanese were promised full control over their country.

The end of the war in Europe on May 8 1945, made the two republics of Syria and Lebanon more

urgent in their insistence that they should enjoy immediately the independence promised them by France in 1941, but which had been delayed owing to war conditions.

The French Government sent out General Beynet, as their Plenipotentiary, to arrange a treaty before handing over authority. At the same time, fresh French troops were sent to Syria, in cruisers, making a provocative show of power. This was enough to inflame nationalist feeling and precipitate a very serious rising all through the month of May. The Syrians wanted the departure of foreign troops and the achievement of their promised independence. A general strike was proclaimed, demonstrations took place in Beirut and Damascus, and actual fighting between the French troops and Syrian patriots continued for weeks. Using extreme measures of suppression, General Beynet ordered the shelling and bombing of Damascus (May 29-30, 1945). The Syrian Parliament House, Mosques, Government offices, and a large part of the centre of the capital suffered considerable damage. Syrian civilians and patriots suffered, at the hands of French soldiers, real atrocities. This alarming state of affairs caused the British Government to order General Paget, Commander-in-Chief of the Middle East, to intervene to prevent further bloodshed. Moreover Mr Churchill sent a message to General de Gaulle asking him to order French troops to cease fire and to return to barracks.

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Eventually, in April 1946 all foreign troops were withdrawn from Syria and later from Lebanon. There were popular demonstrations of rejoicing and, in front of a huge gathering at which representatives of the other Arab States and military detachments were present, the Syrian President Shukri al Kowwatly announced the achievement of complete independence.

During the twenty five years of their mandatory rule the French applied to the Levant States a colonial system of administration which far from building up a foundation of stable government, indulged in a disintegrating policy of *divide et impera*. The economic development of the country was in consequence very slow. But with the newly recovered freedom the two Levant States are beginning to push actively the work of reconstruction in all fields of national life.

Education is being widely extended and there is a Syrian University at Damascus, a Roman Catholic University and an American (undenominational) University at Beirut. There is also an Arab Academy at Damascus and agricultural and technical colleges.

Irrigation schemes and afforestation, already undertaken twenty years ago are being developed on a large scale. Local crafts are encouraged. The land under cultivation is rapidly increasing.

In a review of the French record in the Levant mention should be made that the French achievements in the domains of scholarship and archæology

were remarkable. Their institutes have been active centres for the study of archæology in the Middle East.

There are two great pipe-lines from the Mosul oilfields which run through Syrian territory. The great pipe-line of the Mosul oilfields extends for 1,150 miles from Kirkuk in Iraq (the oil-well district), to two Mediterranean ports. It was opened by the late King Ghazi of Iraq in January 1935, sixteen nations, including Great Britain, having taken part in the work of constructing the pipe-line.

Two lines of piping run straight from Kirkuk, the oil-well district, to Haditha, crossing the Tigris and Euphrates on their way. From that point the lines diverge, one going almost due west through Palmyra in Syria to the Mediterranean port of Tripoli. The second pipe-line goes south-west through the Syrian desert, Transjordan and Palestine to Haifa port. Both lines bring oil from the Euphrates area of Iraq.

The various holdings of the big oil groups having interests in the Iraq oil supply include those of the Iraq Petroleum Company, the Dutch Shell Group and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which is concerned with the big Persian oilfields which lie far to the south, and have their outlet through the Persian Gulf.

SA'UDI ARABIA

In the splendid story of the renewal of Arabia, the name of Ibn Sa'ud, her present ruler, stands first

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and most honoured. Some forty years ago Arabia was divided between three ruling families: the Sharifs ruling over the Hijaz, Al Rashid over Najd and the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula and Al Sabah over the remainder. Perpetual disorder and chaos were the general rule throughout the length and breadth of Arabia. The tribes warred against each other attacking and exploiting each other's territory. The Bedouins menaced commerce and caravans and knew no law but plunder.

In the midst of this general chaos Arabia's young man of destiny appeared. This young man was Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdur-Rahman Al Faisal Al Sa'ud, Ibn Saud. In the space of less than thirty years he reconquered and extended his rule over the whole of Najd al-Hasa, Qatif, Asir and the Hijaz. Beginning as Shaikh of Najd, the stronghold of the Wahhabis, in Central Arabia, he had annexed the province of al-Hasa on the Persian Gulf before the First World War. Subsequently, he conquered the territories of the Rashid family in the north. In 1925 he completed the conquest of the Hijaz land whose ruler King Hussain went into exile. In 1930 he incorporated into his kingdom the land of Asir in the extreme south west and he firmly established his hegemony over the major part of the Arabian Peninsula when his army beat the troops of the Imam of Yemen in 1934 and occupied almost all the eastern coast of the Red Sea. But following upon the mediation of an inter-Arab delegation he came to terms

with Imam Yahya of Yemen by signing the Treaty of al-Taif in June 1934, which was called the Treaty of Muslim Brotherhood and Arab Friendship.

After his triumphant entry into Mecca, Ibn Sa'ud was proclaimed King of Hijaz, Najd and Dependencies on January 8, 1926. On that date, Sa'udi Arabia came into being as an independent sovereign kingdom. The unification of the Arabs has been the work of this great Wahhabi King, who is today master of a realm larger than France, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland combined, and of a population of close on seven millions.

In the space of two decades of his rule, he has introduced more changes into Arabia than it had known during many centuries of its history.

In order to be able properly to understand the extent of the change wrought by King Ibn Sa'ud, it is necessary to have some idea of the state of the country before he came to power. The country was overrun by thieves and brigands, and life and property were not safe. The pilgrims were overtaxed by the "government", robbed, and even murdered by ruthless Bedouins. The sanitation in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina was defective. Potable drinking water was scarce and there were no health services, and so mortality for lack of proper medical care was very high among the pilgrims. The charges for the camels which were then the sole means of transport and the rent of houses were exorbitant.

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With the exception of a few mosque schools there were no educational institutions in the country

Ibn Saud has given Arabia a well-organized government, with departments of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance Public Instruction Army and Religious Affairs The Viceroy—who is at present Prince Faisal, his second son—is helped by an executive council which is composed of the heads of the various Government departments and notables nominated by the King Prince Faisal was the head of the Saudi Arabian delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945 as well as to the United Nations Assembly and this is the only delegation which appeared at all international meetings in national Arab dress The heir-apparent is Amir Saud (born 1905) elder brother of Prince Faisal

All tithes taxes and customs duties are paid into the States Treasury Municipal village and tribal councils composed of notables chosen by the people to advise the Viceroy and carry out his instructions, have also been set up in the principal towns and villages The tribal government has been centralized by placing the Shaikhs under the authority of the Meccan Government The Shaikhs are made responsible for all crimes that take place within their jurisdiction and so in their own interests they have suppressed brigandage and greatly reduced theft murder and other crimes Life and property are now safe The country enjoys the blessings of peace and security to an extent scarcely to be found in any modern country

Many new roads have been built and a large number of motor-cabs have taken the place of camels for transporting passengers and goods. There is a motor bus service over the metalled road between Jeddah and Mecca, and between Mecca and Riyadh.

The project of repairing the Hijaz Railway, south of the Ma'an station and placing it under a Muslim board of control, is being jointly considered by the Governments of Sa'udi Arabia, Transjordan, Palestine and Syria. The project for building a railway from Jeddah to Mecca might perhaps be taken up by the Government.

Sa'udi Arabia has signed the International Postal Convention, extended the wireless system, and introduced the telephone, telegraph, sanitation, and health services. Travelling dispensaries are sent to the villages and among the tribes, with qualified doctors to instruct the people in simple hygiene. With the improvement of sanitation and health services, the population is on the increase. A modern system of education has been introduced. In 1926 the King created a Ministry of Public Instructions and appointed Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, the present Sa'udi Arabian Minister in London, as its head. This Minister has established schools in all the towns and larger villages, where religious education is combined with a study of Arabic, general and Islamic history, geography, mathematics, and elementary science. A technical school, where carpet and rug-weaving, shoe-making, carpentry, and other trades are taught, and two schools for girls,

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in which domestic science and nursing are taught, have also been established at Mecca

One of the greatest achievements of King Ibn Saud consists in his successful efforts to transform the Bedouin nomads into sedentary peasants. He conceived the excellent plan of establishing villages wherever water existed. In these villages he 'planted' Bedouins hoping by this means to make them forego their wandering life and become settled members of the community. His next step was to appoint men of learning to teach these people their religion, and instruct them in their duties to God, their country, and their fellow men.

The wisdom of this enlightened policy is shown by its fruits. It is now hardly possible to recognize in the peasants of today the Bedouins of yesterday, who have, in addition, acquired so much self-esteem, determination and courage and who are absolutely fearless of death and have earned the name of *al Ikhuwan* or 'the Brethren'.

Thus, the Bedouins are encouraged to take to agriculture and modern agricultural and irrigation machinery have been imported by the Government for their benefit. And there is an agricultural development scheme for the al Kharij area near the capital al Riyadh in Central Arabia, where attempts have been made at modern methods of production the irrigation being from underground sources.

In order to develop the abundant mineral resources of the country, the King welcomed the co-operation

of Western industrial elements Gold has been found in the hills of the Hijaz, and a gold mining concession was granted in 1935 to the Sa'udi Arabian Mining Syndicate, a company partly American, British, Sa'udi Arabian and Canadian, under American direction for a specified area in the Hijaz. The mine has a capacity of 350 tons a day. In addition to gold, silver and small quantities of copper, lead and zinc have been found.

Oil is another principal natural wealth in Sa'udi Arabia The main industrial development is at the oilfield in the extreme eastern province of al-Hasa. The Arabian-American Oil Company (formerly known as the Californian-Arabian Standard Oil Company) of Delaware, U.S.A., was granted a concession for sixty years, in May 1933, for an area of nearly 300,000 square miles The area conceded has since been extended to both the north, along the northern frontier, and southwards towards *al-Rub' al-Khālī*, "the Empty Quarter." A refinery with a capacity of 2,500,000 tons a year is nearing completion at the small port of Ras Tanura on the Eastern Coast. There has been a tentative exploration for oil elsewhere in the country and for a time a concession was held by the Petroleum Development (Western Arabia), Ltd, but this was abandoned during the late war, when the obligations undertaken could not be fulfilled There has also been a project for a pipe-line across Arabia from the oilfield to the Mediterranean.

The principal imports at present are cereals, rice, coffee, tea, sugar, cotton piecegoods, motor vehicles,

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spices and cloth. The main exports are oil, gold, charcoal, sheep and camels.

A great deal has been done for the comfort of the pilgrims. Motor cars are now available for them at Jeddah and the charges for them as well as for camels are regulated so as to prevent over-charge. The sanitation of Mecca, Medina, Jeddah, and Yanbo, the four cities with which the pilgrims are most concerned, has been greatly improved and their water supply and other amenities extended. Shelters with supplies of fresh water and medical attendance are available on the road to Mount Arafat. Modern and well-equipped hospitals which are staffed with qualified doctors have been built in the pilgrimage area. On arriving at his port of destination the pilgrim is met by a guide who sees him through the performance of his religious ceremonial as well as his business affairs.

The Saudi Arabian Army has been greatly modernized and in part mechanized and there is a small Air Force. Air development is foreshadowed.

Saudi Arabia has fostered friendship and concluded treaties with Iraq (1924 and subsequently), Great Britain (Treaty of Jeddah 1927), Yemen (Treaty of al-Talf, 1934) and Egypt (1936). She is a member State of the Arab League since its creation in 1945. She has diplomatic representatives in the United States, Great Britain, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq and Syria.

Great as all the above reforms and many others may be, they are superseded by the law, order, stability and security which King Ibn Saud—this trium-

phant warrior and democratic ruler has established throughout his vast kingdom. Indeed, his wisdom lies in the fact that he was alive, from the very beginning of his amazing career, to the fundamental truth that, until law and order were established, no reforms could be possible. To a country, previously afflicted with political chaos, he has brought unity and peace.

Today Sa'udi Arabia is an important factor in all the politics of the Middle East. The country declared war on the Axis Powers in February 1945. She is a member of the United Nations Organization. And the recent State visit which King Ibn Sa'ud paid to the King of Egypt in January 1946, exactly twenty years since he himself was proclaimed King of Arabia, afforded a magnificent opportunity to both countries to strengthen the common ties of Muslim brotherhood and Arab solidarity.

The dominating personality of King Ibn Sa'ud and the very substantial progress which his country has accomplished under his wise rule, gives confidence in Arabia's future.

THE KINGDOM OF YEMEN

Lying near the southern gates of the Red Sea, this independent Arab State has abundant natural resources and is of strategic importance. She, therefore, offered prospects of rivalry among the powers. Before the late war Fascist Italy multiplied her efforts to gain influence there, but the shrewd King of Yemen, Imam Yahya, who rules the country since forty years, offered a successful resistance.

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In 1934 after previous frictions with the British over his claims to the neighbouring Aden Protectorate, the Imam finally signed a treaty of friendship with Great Britain (February 11 1934), whereby he was recognized as King of Yemen. The Imam broke with the Axis Powers in February 1945. Quite recently the United States interests extending throughout the Middle East reached Yemen. Mr H B Clark U S Consul at Aden arranged for regular diplomatic relations between the United States and Yemen. A special mission was afterwards sent out to establish relations with the Imam and was headed by Colonel William Eddy Minister of the U S A to Saudi Arabia.

Yemen which is a member State of the Arab League, has recently signed a treaty of friendship with Egypt.

The country is in the most fertile part of Arabia and coffee is extensively grown and exported.

The Yemen has so far deliberately kept aloof from Western contact but now it is beginning to emerge from its isolation. In his efforts to develop his country the Imam has welcomed the co-operation of the more advanced Arab countries particularly Egypt and Iraq. The capital Sana has some educational institutions, but there is a shortage of schools in the country.

' BRITISH ARABIA

Although the name of ' British Arabia does not officially appear in a geographical atlas yet it exists

in fact, and covers large and important Arab provinces on the southern coast of Arabia, the outlet of the Red Sea and all along the coast of the Persian Gulf. Thus Aden and Aden Protectorate, including Hadramaut, Muscat and Oman, Qatar Shaikhdom, Kuwait and the Bahrain Emirate, are all under British control.

ADEN

The Aden Peninsula lies on the Arabian coast, about 100 miles east of Bab al-Mandab. Aden was annexed as a British possession in 1939. Formerly it was administered from India but became a British colony on April 1 1937. It commands the southern entrance to the Red Sea and possesses a great strategic importance, being a sort of Gibraltar of the Red Sea. The opening of the Suez Canal raised Aden to a position of commercial importance, and it is a valuable entrepôt for trade with Arabia and the nearby countries. It also includes the island of Perim.

The Aden Protectorate is divided into two parts: the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate. The former consists of nineteen Sultanates, and the Sultan of Lahej is the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate comprises the Hadramaut (consisting of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri State of Seiyum), the Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and Soqatra, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir Ali and Balhaf, and the Shaikhdoms of Irqa and Haura. The Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla

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is the premier chief of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Hadramaut is the most important and best organized of those areas. Hadramaut is bounded on the east by the Mahri Sultanate and on the west by the Wahidi Sultanates. It is renewing contact with the outer world and modern amenities are being introduced into this desert land.

All these Sultanates stand in Protectorate treaty relations with the British Government and are under the control of British residents or governors (as in Aden).

MUSCAT AND OMAN

The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman is situated at the easterly corner of the Arabian Peninsula and extends inland to the borders of the great desert of al-Rub al-Khali. Its immense southern province of Dhofar is unusually fertile for Arabia and the country seems to hold promises for future development. The capital is at Muscat on the Gulf of Oman, in the extreme north-western corner of the Indian Ocean.

It is nominally ruled by a dynasty of Sultans who have been for nearly a century and a half closely bound to Great Britain by Protectorate treaties. The present ruler, Sultan Said ibn Taimur (born 1910) paid his first visit to Egypt in 1944 and established contact with this leading Arab country.

The Sultan granted the Petroleum Development (Oman and Dhofar) Ltd. an associated company of the

Iraq Petroleum Company, two concessions one for Dhofar and the other for Oman in 1937, both concessions containing an option for seven years. The Company took up its option in 1944, some survey work undertaken before the late war having given results understood to be not discouraging.

Fishing, pearl-diving and date-growing are the main occupations of the people of the eastern province

During the late war, air communication over the Southern area was considerably developed, and aircraft have constantly used landing grounds built along the south coast by the R A F, facing the Arabian Sea or north-west corner of the Indian Ocean.

The State has Treaty relations with Great Britain and the United States of America

THE STATE OF KUWAIT

Kuwait is situated on the north-western coast of the Persian Gulf. This Shaikhdом, which is under British protection, is ruled at present by Shaikh Ahmad Āl Jabir Āl Sabāh. Today big oilfields are opening up in Kuwait. The Kuwait Oil Company, an Anglo-American concern, has been drilling on concessions obtained from the Shaikh of Kuwait since 1934, and is about to start production. So far, eight wells have disclosed approved oil reserves of five thousand million barrels. The whole area is reckoned to total a reserve of 9,000 million barrels. The Kuwait oilfields may prove as important as those in Southern Persia.

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There are also the so-called Trucial Shaikhdoms of Shargah, Ras al-Khaimah Umm al Qawain, Ajman, Debai Abu Dhabi and Kalba, and there is another Shaikhdom at Qatar

THE STATE OF BAHRAIN

The Bahrain islands form an archipelago in the Persian Gulf twenty miles off al-Hasa on the Arabian coast. Bahrain the largest island is 27 miles long and 10 miles wide. The ruling family is under treaty protection by Britain. The landing ground used by the British Oversea Airways Corporation is on Muharraq island. The Bahrain is a centre of the famous pearl fishing industry of the Persian Gulf.

In 1932 oil was discovered in Bahrain and operations are being conducted by the Bahrain Petroleum Company a company registered in Canada, which has been granted a concession by the Shaikh. The Bahrain Petroleum Company is part of an organization owned by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Corporation.

There is a British political resident for the Persian Gulf and a political agent at Bahrain.

THE MODERN STATE OF IRAQ

During the First World War the Allied British and Arab forces under General Maude, drove the Turks out of Iraq in 1917. At the peace settlement Great Britain was awarded the mandate for Iraq in 1920.

In Iraq as in Syria and Palestine there were Arab nationalist movements which resented the

breaking up of the Arab territories into several mandates and aspired to a union of these Arab States. During the years 1919-1920 this movement in Iraq assumed the form of a serious rebellion. The British Government sent out Sir Percy Cox as High Commissioner to conciliate the Iraqis, and he enacted legislation and directed British administration. He appointed an Arab cabinet with British advisers, attached to each ministry. King Faisal I was crowned on August 23, 1921, as King of Iraq, and proved to be an able statesman. For, all except the last eleven months of his life, he was king not of an independent but of a mandated state. But he succeeded in establishing an international respect for himself and for Iraq as a progressive state. The unity of Iraq is his outstanding achievement.

The years 1920 to 1924 formed a period of strenuous struggle against the British mandate, with Britain trying to negotiate a treaty with the Iraqi Government which should best suit her policy. A treaty providing for a new "basis of alliance" was signed in October 1922, but there was no definite recognition of Iraq as a sovereign state. The treaty was, therefore, fiercely opposed by the nationalists, but Britain finally applied force and compelled its ratification in June 1924.

The legal acquisition of Mosul by Iraq was completed in 1926, and in the same year a new Anglo-Iraqi Treaty was signed, which was revised in the following year. For the first time an Anglo-Iraqi

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Treaty expressly recognized Iraq as an independent state, and Britain undertook to support Iraq's application for membership to the League in 1932. The treaty, it was understood, would not be ratified until the financial and military agreements had been revised and approved by the League of Nations. So began a stormy period of Anglo-Iraqi relations. Further modifications in the treaty were effected by negotiations which terminated in June 1930 and the treaty was ratified. The main points of the new treaty were provision for an offensive and defensive alliance, Britain to have right of way through Iraq for her armed forces, the continuance of British air-bases west of the Euphrates, the establishment of Iraq's sovereignty and her assumption of responsibility for her internal affairs. The British High Commissioner, henceforth became an ambassador and the doyen of the diplomatic corps in Baghdad. The treaty was for twenty-five years.

On October 3 1932, Iraq was admitted into the League of Nations as an independent sovereign member and, on that day the mandate came to an end.

King Faise, who had will steered Iraq into her independence died while in Switzerland where he had gone to recover his health, on September 8, 1933. He was succeeded by his son, Ghazi I, aged twenty one. After less than six years reign, this second King of Iraq died as the result of an automobile accident when returning to his palace on the evening

of April 3, 1939. His son, who is the present ruler, King Faisal II, was at that time only four years old. The regency was confided by the National Assembly to his maternal uncle Amir Abdul-Ilâh. The boy King is of exceptional linguistic and social abilities.

The most notable event during a period of political instability and a frequent change of ministry before the late war, was the ephemeral power of General Bakır Sıdky, Chief of the General Staff, who carried out a military *coup d'état* in September 1936. He overthrew the Yasin al-Hashimi's Cabinet, and put Hikmat Sulaiman in his place. Bakır Sıdky was assassinated in August 1937 and the Hikmat Sulaiman Cabinet resigned a few days later. It was succeeded by a new cabinet under Jamil al-Madfa'i, who adopted a pan-Arab policy.

In the course of the last fifteen years, the foreign policy of Iraq has been very active. Iraq concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with Sa'udi Arabia in April 1936, to which Yemen also adhered. Iraq was also the sole Arab State signatory of the Pact of Sa'adabad (July 1937), the initiative of which was taken by Turkey, and to which Persia and Afghanistan also adhered. All Iraqi Governments have officially manifested their sympathy and defence of the Arab cause in Palestine. As a sovereign Power, Iraq has numerous diplomatic representations abroad, and she is one of the seven members of the Arab League.

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In the beginning of April 1911, the former Premier, Rashid Ali al-Gailani, supported by a group of officers effected a coup d'état attacked the British forces which had been landed in the country and formed a military cabinet. On April 10, the Iraqi Parliament met and adopted resolutions deposing the Regent, Amir Abdul-Ilah, and electing in his place Sharif Sharaf, another member of the Hashimite family. From Basorah the Regent broadcast a proclamation calling on the people to reject the rebellious elements who were exposing the country to danger. This coup d'état was a mixture of genuine nationalism and a short sighted political vision, and it proved to be a complete failure.

Order was eventually restored in May.

Iraq declared war on Germany Italy and Japan on January 16, 1943.

In accordance with the Iraqi policy of promoting friendship with other Muslim countries the Regent accompanied by General Nuri es Said Pasha, paid a visit to Turkey in September 1945, with the aim of fostering co-operation between the two countries, and a new Turco Iraqi alliance was officially concluded in the autumn of 1946 when Nuri es Said Pasha was again the Iraqi Prime Minister. Moreover, Iraq has always been a staunch champion of Arab unity and has of late extended its active support to the Arab peoples of Palestine and North Africa.

The new State of Iraq with a population of probably 4 500 000 made excellent progress in national

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reconstruction under King Faisal I and his son King Ghazi I. Communications by rail and road were improved beyond recognition. The country lies at the cross-roads of the world routes, between the Syro-Arab desert and the mountains of Persia, and is the halting-place on the route to India. The two natural routes are constituted by the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates which are navigable for the most important part of their inferior course. In the last few years, the routes of communications have been extended. The railway which commences at the Persian Gulf reaches now, *via* Mosul, the Syrian frontier at Tell-Kotchek, and *via* Turkey, Istanbul. The section Mosul-Kotchek was put into service on March 28, 1939. Finally, the inauguration of the section Baiji-Mosul, on May 2, 1940, completed the famous Baghdadbahn which had been planned half a century before. The project of a railway Baghdad-Haifa is being studied. In 1936, the Iraqi Government purchased the railways from England. The roads to Syria (*via* Rotbah and Khan abu-Shamât) and to Sa'udi Arabia have been improved, and the land route of the pilgrims to the Hijaz has thus been facilitated. Work has also been begun on a new route which is to join Jerusalem with Baghdad.

Several new bridges have been built over the Euphrates and Tigris. The port of Bassorah and its annexes have been modernized.

Baghdad and Bassorah count among the important air-ports of the world. Besides the international lines

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which transit towards the Middle and Far-East there are interior lines connecting the principal cities Baghdad, Mosul Kirkuk and Bassorah

Iraq is a land of rich resources and potentialities and is economically sound. Her soil is fertile, and the date-crop is important, comprising about eighty per cent of the world's total output. Dates exported amounted in 1942 to 132 000 tons. Irrigation and agriculture—which remain the staple industries in the country—were put on a new scientific basis. The variety of geographical conditions, climatic and hydrographic favour a diversity of cultivations. The Iraqi Government has considered the introduction or development of other cultures: grains: barley, wheat, millet, cotton, tobacco, sugar, beets, tea, coffee, potatoes. Considerable tracts of land are rendered cultivable through the extension of irrigation. As a result, the nomad tribes are becoming sedentary. Already there is the dam of Kout across the Tigris, inaugurated in 1939 and there are a number of canals.

Oil is the principal natural resource. Its production in 1938 was 4 272 000 tons; in 1939 it was 4 295 000 tons. For the year ending March 1941 oil royalties to the amount of £15 75 000 were paid to the Iraqi Government.

Education has been taken in hand and extended. Schools are opened throughout the country and illiteracy is decreasing. There is a modern university at Baghdad which is turning out an educated class of

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patriotic Iraqis who take an active part in national reconstruction

There is an active campaign for better sanitation, and the health services are being developed. The elements of a sane social legislation have been introduced and there is a considerable intellectual vitality, combined with efforts towards a revival of Arab culture. The Iraqi Government sends many educated Iraqis abroad on technical and scientific missions

Iraq has a modern and well-organized army, and a smart police force. Military aviation has been developed, and there is a school of aviation near Baghdad

Early in December 1946, Iraq appointed as its Minister to Britain Emir Zeid, great-uncle of Iraq's King Faisal II

FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

France undertook armed action against Tunisia in 1881 and the French army compelled the defeated Bey to sign the Treaty of Bardo (May 12, 1881) recognizing the French Protectorate

Algeria was invaded by France in 1830. The main resistance of the natives centred around the famous leader Abdel-Kader who possessed real military and diplomatic gifts and was the most formidable adversary whom the French ever encountered in Algeria. After a heroic struggle against the French armies, he finally surrendered in 1847. But for more

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than two decades French troops were kept busy subduing rampant revolts until France annexed Algeria, and considered its three northern departments Algiers, Oran, and Constantine as an integral part of France, under a Governor General

In Morocco France hastened her expansion in order to forestall a German intervention and the Franco-British Convention of 1904 gave France a free hand in Morocco. In a secret agreement which was not revealed until 1911, Morocco was divided into two zones of influence between France and Spain. Germany had signed an agreement in 1909 recognizing French political interests in Morocco but announced that a warship would be sent to Agadir on the Atlantic coast of Southern Morocco as events had proved the inefficiency of the Act of Algeciras. This Act dated back to 1906 when a conference over Moroccan affairs met at Algeciras. Britain backed France which had also the sympathy of Spain. Russia and Italy. The conference accepted the majority of the reforms recommended by the French to the Sultan of Morocco in the previous year. The Powers also agreed that the Sultan's government must apply a uniform tariff to the goods of all countries. A French occupation of Fez in 1911 was the event which incited Germany to send a gunboat to Agadir. At that time neither Russia nor England desired to risk war for the sake of French aggression. Finally a Franco-German Convention was signed in November 1911, recognizing the principle of a French Pro-

tectorate over Morocco, and, in return, France ceded part of the Congo to Germany. The Act establishing the French Protectorate was signed at Fez on March 30, 1912. Mulay Abdul-Hafiz, Sultan of Morocco from 1902 to 1912, abdicated after having been compelled to sign the Act. He died in Paris in April 1937. He was succeeded by Mulay Yusuf, who reigned till his death in 1927. His son, the present ruler, was proclaimed Sultan of Morocco on November 18, 1927.

The Spanish zone in the north is not an integral part of Spain, but a protectorate exercised by Spain on behalf of the Sultan of Morocco, whose Khalifa resides at Tetuan. This zone became a dangerous storm-centre from 1919 onwards, when the Riff tribes turned against the Spaniards. In 1921, the famous leader Abdul-Karim stirred up resistance. The staunch Riff tribes rallied around him, and he won brilliant victories, inflicting a terrible defeat on the Spanish armies which were fighting a losing war against him. These Moroccan events led to a crisis in Spain and, in September 1923, the constitutional government was replaced by a military dictatorship under General Primo de Rivera, who decided upon a general withdrawal. The evacuation strengthened Abdul-Karim's prestige.

In April 1925, Abdul-Karim launched a fierce attack on the French zone to the south, and a severe campaign ensued. So effective was Abdul-Karim's veteran infantry, that France found it necessary to

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combine with Spain against him, to reinforce her army of occupation, and to send Marshal Pétain to organize the campaign against the Riffians. Abdul Karim did not surrender until May 28, 1926. France sent him into exile to the Reunion Islands where he remains a captive to the present day.

During the civil war in Spain, in 1936, General Franco had recourse to the Moors in his onslaught against the republican forces of Spain. They were mostly recruited by force and some fifty thousand Moroccans fought in Franco's lines, where they formed the flower of his army. They were in the vanguard of every important battle, and have borne the brunt of hard fighting.

As a reward for their invaluable help, Franco promised the Moors a large measure of autonomy, but these promises were very sparsely fulfilled after his victory over the Republican Government Forces. And once he sat firmly in the saddle he withdrew all the concessions which he had temporarily given to the natives in Spanish Morocco. Recently his administration in the zone started a policy of excessive authority, suppressing the freedom of the press and of assembly. This action has roused the nationalists, led by Abdul Khalik at-Torres, against the Spanish yoke. The Moors had no particular enthusiasm for Franco and they have been waiting on events which would afford them a chance of liberation.

In October 1946, the National Reform Party of Morocco (Spanish zone) sent a telegraphic message,

signed by its president at-Torrés, to the United Nations Assembly, demanding the recognition by the United Nations of the independence and the unification of Morocco under the effective sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco. The message indicted the "despotic and imperialistic system of protection, imposed during thirty-four years by Spain."

Towards the end of November the Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed, planned a journey to the international zone of Tangier, which is nominally under his rule, in order to lay the foundation stone of an Islamic college there. The Arab nationalists in the Spanish zone of Morocco intended to make this trip the occasion for demonstrations of enthusiastic loyalty to the Sultan, clamouring for the independence and unification of both the French and the Spanish zones of Morocco.

In French Morocco, the subjugation of the unoccupied areas proved to be a long and arduous task, which was effected by Marshal Lyautey, the able French soldier and administrator. He crushed all native resistance and consolidated French authority, hoisting the French tricolour throughout the Protectorate. But in order to gain the goodwill of the natives, he pursued a policy of conciliation.

Throughout the inter-war period, there was a growing disaffection with French rule. Moroccan nationalism was systematically repressed, and its leaders as well as persons suspected of anti-French activities, were periodically arrested, imprisoned, and

deported without trial. Public instruction for the natives was neglected and there is no University in the country. Even the educated Moroccans had no opportunity under the French régime. A North African Students Congress in 1935 called for instruction in the schools that would give birth to the consciousness of our unity in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia) a unity founded on a unified intellectual outlook, a single religion and common sentiments.

The French have created a large body of laws in the form of Imperial Edicts or *Dahirs* signed by the Sultan of Morocco but promulgated and made executive by the French Resident General. Even decrees of minor importance similarly required French approval. The Sultan's government known as the *Makhzen* as well as the local administration by native *Pashas* or *Calds* are controlled by the French.

The French administration is a completely rigid autocracy and there is no semblance of any self-government. On May 16, 1930 the French promulgated a famous *Dahir* known as the *Dahir Berbere* by which Berber traditional law and custom were recognized as alone valid and not the Islamic Law. This *Dahir* which aimed at the de-Islamization of the Muslim Berber tribes and drawing them away from Muslim culture, provoked great indignation throughout the Islamic world for it was considered to be an insult to Islam. The French had the too obvious intention of dividing the Moroccan people.

into two sections to be kept artificially apart. An active group of Moroccan intellectuals formed the Moroccan National Action Committee (*kutlat al-'amal al-watni al-maghribi*), and launched a vigorous campaign against this 'Dahir' and French policy generally. With the aid of several French deputies who belong to the Left parties, they founded, in 1932, a nationalist review "Maghreb" in Paris, to defend the cause of their country as well as of Algeria and Tunisia. They were led by the energetic and young Mohammed Hassan al-Wazzâni.

Early in 1935, the Moroccan Action Committee published a "Plan de Rêformes Marocaines", consisting in a scheme of reforms and proposals for a Franco-Moroccan co-operation, if the French Government, to which they present the "Plan" realized the necessary reforms in their country. As the Left groups in France were victorious in the French elections in 1936, the Moroccan nationalists hoped that their demands would be granted forthwith. They were, however, disappointed, and their resentment led to a serious outbreak in March 1937, in Morocco. The French decreed the dissolution of this Nationalist Party, followed by mass arrests and imprisonment of the nationalists. Agitation and bloodshed at Meknes, Fez and Casablanca continued through the summer, and, confronted by this grave situation, General Noguès, the French Resident, had to release most of those who had been imprisoned.

After France's collapse in 1940, it was an anomaly that a defeated and battered French administration

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in Morocco continued to control the government of the supposedly absolute monarch or Sultan of Morocco completely. The administration of Morocco (except in the coastal regions) continued to be a military control.

When the American and British forces landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts, on November 7 1942 the populations showed sincere sentiments of friendliness towards them. The Moroccans particularly cheered the Americans for, they remembered that the United States had steadfastly refused to recognize either French or Spanish Protectorates in Morocco and, therefore to this day the only foreign representative accredited to the Sherifian Court is the American Minister who resides at Tangiers. The declarations in the Atlantic Charter combined with these facts gave high hopes to the nationalist aspirations.

By the end of 1943, the nationalist leaders of the Independence Party (*Hizb al-Isuklal*) believed that the time for energetic action had arrived. On January 11, 1944 they issued a manifesto urging four essential demands. First the independence and unity of Morocco under the rule of the Sultan, their honoured and trusted chief, secondly the immediate opening of negotiations with such Powers that are interested in an acknowledgment and guarantee of Moroccan independence under the Sultan, thirdly alliance of Morocco with those Powers which have elaborated the Atlantic Charter and finally internal reforms.

and a constitution along the model in use in the Muslim countries of the Near and Middle East

The manifesto, referred in its preamble to the meritorious action of Moroccan troops on the side of the Allies. As a matter of fact, several Moroccan divisions (particularly *tirailleurs* or sharp-shooters and *goumiers* or self-sufficing horsemen) of the French African Army were landed in Southern Italy in December, 1942, when the Allies had just won the battle of Palermo. They fought bravely and won many victories in battle. They climbed the peaks of the Abruzzi in Italy, came down upon the plains of Rome, took an active part in the reconquest of Florence, then they were re-embarked to participate in the liberation of France, beginning by the beaches of the Midi, advancing through the Alps and finally across the Doubs and the Rhine into Germany. From the Atlas mountains to the Tyrol, these warriors advanced with the same fighting spirit as that of their fellow Algerian Spahis, those famous and proud cavalymen, who, under the leadership of General Koenig, gained fame amid the sands of Libya, at Bir Hakeim, and took their horses into the heart of Abyssinia, and later fought in Tunisia, Corsica and France, too.

The nationalist leaders, headed by Ahmad Balafriy and Omar Abdul Jalil, delivered the historic document to the Sultan in the Imperial Palace in Rabat, during

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a session of the Imperial Council¹ At the same time patriots attached copies which had been prepared in advance to the gates of the mosques in all parts of Morocco and political demonstrations with a clamouring for emancipation from French rule and freedom occurred in the main cities As the situation became serious the French Resident General Puaux met the Sultan with whom he had repeated discussions The Sultan asserted his right as ruler of his country to receive the representatives of his people and support all their fair demands

By then eighteen days elapsed since the manifesto had been issued while agitation continued The Gaullist authorities decided to take severe measures of repression In Rabat two prominent leaders Balafrij and al-Yazidi were arrested, and the first deported to Corsica where he remained till until his release in the autumn of 1946² A committee of patriots wished to be received in audience by the Sultan, but were prevented from so doing by a French officer whereupon a member of the committee shot him Riots and even fighting between the natives and the French troops continued for some weeks The Press was gagged and political assemblies prohibited

1 Copies were delivered to the French authorities the American and British representatives and also to the Russian representative at Algiers.

2 Another leader of the nationalist movement in Morocco Si Allal al Fassi a professor of the Quaraoulne Islamic Institute of Fe had previously been deported by the French to Equatorial Africa where he remained in exile for nine years He returned home towards the end of 1946 The nationalist leaders including al Wazzani were released by the new French Resident General M Erik Labonne.

whereas groups of nationalists were deported. Upon a hint from his diplomatic representative in Washington, the Gaullist Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, M. Massigli, went immediately by aeroplane to Rabat, in order to inquire into the alarming situation. Order was finally restored, though general discontent remained prevalent.

Another internal crisis occurred when the French authorities recently decided to align the Moroccan franc to the French franc. The Sultan refused. Again, when the French Government decided that Morocco should send French representatives to the Constituent Assembly, the sovereign vigorously and publicly protested, declaring that his country was tied to France by a temporary association, but was essentially free and that, therefore, there was no more reason to see French representatives of Morocco at the *Constituante* than to see in it French representatives of Sweden or Switzerland. The former French Resident, M. Gabriel Puaux, had to admit the legitimacy of the Sultan's protest. Sidi Mohammed who had been a politically effaced figure in 1927, when he ascended the throne, has become today an experienced sovereign and statesman. Having been asked one day by the same Resident, M. Puaux, whether he was for or against France, the Sultan of Morocco replied with much subtlety: "I am with my people!"

As for the international zone of Tangier, France, Spain, and Britain proceeded to draw up an

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agreement in 1924 establishing a system of international administration for it and giving France a preponderant influence. This system came into being in 1925 and the central administration was mainly tripartite. The chief administrator was a Frenchman and he had an Englishman as assistant for finance control and a Spaniard for hygiene. In 1928 an Italian administrator was also admitted. A "Mandoub" or delegate, represents the Sultan of Morocco, who exercises a nominal authority over the zone.

In 1940, Spain took advantage of the fall of France, Spanish troops occupied the zone and Tangier was declared part of the Spanish Protectorate. The international administration was abolished and everything taken over by the Spanish authorities. But the United States refused to recognize in any way this *fait accompli*. On September 1, 1945 Spain was instructed by the United States, Britain, Russia, and France to withdraw her troops from Tangier, and on October 11, international administration was re-established.

Tangier is peopled in the majority by native Muslims with a very strong Spanish colony. It also includes French, English, Italian, Portuguese, Belgian, Dutch and Swiss elements. The agents of all the Great Powers never ceased to work in that zone. The United States Government does not recognize the authority of the International Administration and still enjoys capitulatory rights. The American Minister is a member of the Committee of Control.

and three American citizens sit in the Legislative Assembly. There is a great deal of capital deposited in Tangier, and important interests have set up companies or placed deposits in the zone, which seems to have a future. Two large American radio corporations have installed powerful modern radio stations in the zone. With the development of the port, Tangier may create a profitable entrepôt trade.

An international conference is to decide the permanent future of Tangier. In the meantime Russia is to have a Consul-General in the zone

The serious situation in Morocco is complicated by the great misery of the masses and the economic distress prevailing in the whole vast territories of French North Africa. The bare necessities of life are scarce; and relief for the peasant masses and workmen is often lacking. During the ominous years just before the outbreak of the late war, the situation in Algeria was also one of intense nationalist activities. An Algerian Muslim Congress met in June 1936, and adopted a motion demanding categorically all civic rights for Algerian Muslims and parliamentary representation by their own elected members. The natives claimed all the rights of a French citizen, but without abandoning their status and traditions as Muslims and Arabs. The policy of assimilation and naturalization which was then encouraged by some French statesmen was strongly opposed.

A movement for an Islamic revival was led by a powerful organization of learned men and religious

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leaders known as the Society of Algerian Ulemas (*Jam'iyyat al-Ulamā al-Jazā'irīyin*). Its leader was the late Shaikh Abdul Hamid ibn Badis a man of great learning and high qualities. Through his energy, successful efforts were made to diffuse instruction among the natives by the establishment of free Arab schools. The society published an important periodical "*Ash Shihāb*" and a paper, "*Al Basa'ir*" preaching a religious reform, in accord with Muslim traditions as a basis for a free Algeria as Muslim and Arab as the Muslim countries of the Near East. Ibn Badis died in 1938 and was succeeded by Shaikh al-Bashir al-Ibrahimi as president of the Society of Ulemas. The French Governor-General however, disliked the work of the society on the ground that it deflected Muslim children from French culture which France has always attempted to impose on the natives. The number of native schools was greatly restricted and nine out of ten Algerian Arab children could not go to school. Furthermore, the freedom of the press was curbed and all but licensed official preachers were forbidden.

The assimilation policy was also resisted by an important nationalist party, known as the North African Star, which was founded in 1929 by an eloquent and dynamic Algerian intellectual Messali Hadj. This party like the Society of Ulemas preached that Algeria must become a free and independent Arab country, fight for her rights to emancipation from French rule and act in harmony with the sister

countries of Morocco and Tunisia towards the common goal of liberation

In 1935, the French Government banned the North African Star and its leader. Messali took refuge at Geneva. When the Popular Front Government came into power in France in 1936, Messali Hadj returned to France, headed a delegation which interviewed M. Leon Blum and submitted his party's demands: amnesty to all political prisoners, abolition of the code for the natives, freedom of the press and of assembly, universal suffrage, a representative assembly, an abolition of subsidies to Christian missionary activities among the Muslims of Algeria, a recognition of Arabic as the official language and making its study compulsory, and the suppression of the regime of "military terrorism" in Southern Algeria.

The answer to the demands of the Algerian nationalists who placed high hopes in the Popular Front Government, was that in November 1937, the party was dissolved, and its leader, Messali, sentenced to two years' imprisonment and the loss of civil and political rights, for having reformed his party underground into the Popular Party of Algeria.

Released a few months before the outbreak of the late war, Messali was re-imprisoned by M. Edouard Daladier, the French Premier, on no other ground than that the French Government was worried at Messali's tremendous following and the growth of the nationalist movement in Algeria.

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When the Vichy régime was set up in France in 1940 Marshal Petain's Government offered Messali his immediate release, if he would give up his party's demands for independence and universal suffrage. But the nationalist leader would not be bought. The Vichy Government promptly then sentenced him to sixteen years hard labour and confiscated all his property.

After the invasion of North Africa by the Anglo-Saxon forces Messali was released but General de Gaulle considered him a dangerous opponent of French rule and ordered him under house arrest. Finally in 1944 Messali was deported to Brazzaville.

The function of mouthpiece for Algerian aspirations was then taken over by Ferhat Abbas, an intellectual Algerian patriot who had founded a new political organization, the Democratic Party of the Algerian Manifesto. This party published its manifesto of February 1943 in which it stated that the French policy of assimilation or naturalization in Algeria had completely failed and that the Muslims who constitute nine tenths of the entire population of Algeria had been kept remote in law and in fact from the affairs of their own country. Even their mother tongue Arabic had been almost completely neglected in the establishments of public instruction. The Party of the Manifesto demanded self government for the Algerian people and the end of imperialist domination based upon military conquest. It deplored the disheartening fact that the French

colonists in Algeria had ensconced themselves into a privileged dominating caste, enjoying the favours of the French authorities and looking down with disdain upon the natives as an inferior race of "bicots"

In March 1944, the French Provisional Government decreed a programme of administrative reforms looking towards an equality of rights of representation for the Algerians

Meanwhile, acute economic distress and even famine during the last years of the war led to an alarming exasperation of national feeling in Algeria and intensified the general discontent. A serious uprising took place on the day following V-Day in Europe, of which the outer world would have remained ignorant, owing to French censorship, had it not been for a report in the American Army's newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*, then published in Italy. On May 10, 1945, as a reprisal for the revolt of the natives, French troops opened fire on the patriots, many Arab villages were bombed out of existence by French aeroplanes, and the small town of Setif, the Algerian Oradour, was set on fire and completely destroyed. About thirty thousand native Arabs were killed as a consequence of this savage reprisal action by the French troops. All political leaders were arrested, only to be released very much later, following upon an amnesty.

The situation eased down in 1946, and, the Democratic Party of the Manifesto was allowed to resume

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its activities At the elections which were held on June 2, 1946 for the second Constituent Assembly in Paris this Algerian party obtained eleven seats The Algerian deputies headed by Ferhat Abbas, form a compact parliamentary group and include physicians, lawyers teachers agriculturists and businessmen They took a lively part in the discussion of what is called the French Union which, in the spirit of the French Government, should replace the notion of Empire These Algerian representatives continued to plead the cause of a sovereign, free State of Algeria which should have its own government parliament and flag Messali Hadj, who had been released in 1946 resumed his political activity as head of the Algerian Popular Party standing for Arab unity and, therefore co operation with the Party of the Manifesto and an indictment of French rule ' The Algerian people, oppressed for 116 years by an odious régime worse than Hitler's aspires to its independence and total liberty

In Tunisia the nationalist movement followed a similar course to that in the other territories of French North Africa An Arab land with ancient Arab traditions embodied in the famous Islamic university-mosque Az Zaitounah which was founded in Tunis in 732, the country has been ever aspiring to shake off foreign rule

After the First World War an active class of educated Tunisians sent a memorandum to President Wilson in April 1919, demanding the extension of self-rule to their country An anonymous book

entitled "*La Tunisie Martyre*", of which the actual author was an outstanding Tunisian leader, Shaikh Abdul-Aziz Ath-Tha'âlibi, was published in defence of the country's national aspirations. This chief was sent into exile.

In 1920, the Destour (constitution) Party was founded, which resolutely adopted a pan-Arab policy, and urged the struggle for the emancipation of Tunisia from French Protectorate which amounted to a "disguised annexation", and the establishment of a constitutional government under the Bey.

In 1930, an offshoot of the national movement, led by a group of young intellectuals, took up the name of the Liberal Constitutional Party (*al-Hizb al-Hurr ad-Destouri*), and had at its head an ardent patriot and lawyer, Habib Abu Raqîbah (Bourghibah).

The years between 1933 and 1938 were a period of nationalistic uprising, with political demonstrations, attempts at economic boycott, anti-French press campaigns, which, as was expected, brought about repression, gagging of the press, internment and exile of the leaders into the Sahara. Tunisia was under a régime of military occupation though in peace time, and there was no measure for local self-government, as the Tunisians had no real share in the public administration.

In April 1938, serious disorders with bloodshed occurred, and the Liberal Constitutional Party was dissolved, its leaders being arrested. That was also

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the time of the Fascist campaign in Italy demanding Tunisia Corsica and Djibouti. The Tunisians, in fact desired a Tunisia independent of either France or Italy.

After the defeat of France in 1940 the position of Resident-General was held by Admiral Esteva, on behalf of Vichy France. He was sentenced in March 1945 to life imprisonment on treason charges by the Paris High Court.

The troops of the United Nations entered Tunisia on November 7-8, 1942 and expelled the Axis forces, Bizerta being captured by United States troops on May 7 1943, and Tunis falling to the British First Army on the same day.

At the end of the North African campaign the French military authorities, under General Giraud, accused Tunisia's monarch Muhammad al-Munsif (Moncef Bey) of pro-German leanings and deposed him. He was replaced by his cousin Muhammad al Amin, who became Bey of Tunis on May 15 1943.

The destituted ruler Moncef Bey, had reigned ten months (July 1942-May 1943), and was tremendously popular among the Tunisian nation for he was a democratic ruler keeping himself in direct contact with the people and sympathizing with the nationalist *Destour* movement. He intended to take a direct part in ruling his country and not to take his orders from the French Resident-General, with whom he was often in conflict. A few months after his advent to the throne, Tunisia became involved in war and was

occupied by the Germans. But, more than once, Moncef Bey declared that Tunisia should remain neutral in the conflict, and took no initiative in favour of the Germans. He had refused to co-operate with the French without the assurance of the approaching end of the French Protectorate over his country. After his destitution he was at first exiled to the Southern Tunisian desert and later transferred to a guarded home at Pau in the Pyrenees.

Since the end of the war, Tunisia became once more restive, with periodical outbreaks of political disturbances and clashes between the Nationalists and the French. In fact, since 1938, the country has been virtually living in a state of siege. The French banned the political parties, established censorship of the press and suppressed the right of association and free speech. Tunisians complained that after sixty-five years of French occupation, Tunisia is still treated like a conquered country. Furthermore, the French had no right to depose Moncef Bey, firstly, because under the Treaty of Bardo (May 12, 1881), which fixed the conditions of the French Protectorate, the French promised always to keep the Bey in power; and, secondly because as a Muslim sovereign he is the spiritual leader of his people and therefore cannot be deposed except by his own people.

Anti-Nazi during the brief German occupation and the Tunisian campaign the *Destour* Party was determined to gain complete independence for Tunis at the end of war. The Tunisian patriots hoped that

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a post war France would have different ideas about the empire but when the official plans for a French Union were put forward they were bitterly disappointed. In 1915 the French Government bluntly refused a demand presented by the intellectual Nationalist leaders for self government, with vast administrative and social reforms. Moreover the French Resident, General Mast declared arrogantly

'We shall not quit Tunisia!' The banned *Destour* Party continued as an underground nationalist movement of resistance to French rule and its President al-Habib Bourguiba escaped to Egypt where he could resume his nationalist activity freely, at the headquarters of the Arab League. With the object of pleading the case for Tunisian independence he toured the Arab countries of the Near East and also visited America at the end of 1916

The Tunisian Nationalists had thought that syndicalism was the best substitute for a prohibited political party, and therefore they set up the General Tunisian Union of Labour to which adhered the Muslim workers. The new organization was led by *Destourian* representatives of the Tunisian élite had a membership of over 50 000 and grouped ten regional Unions. Its programme was not only one of syndicalism but also of action towards Tunisian liberty and independence

A national Tunisian Congress was held in Tunis in August 1946, under the auspices of the *Destour* leaders, including Ulemas lawyers physicians and

merchants A resolution was passed declaring the nullity of the French Protectorate over Tunisia, and demanding Tunisian independence and membership of the Arab League. When the Congress rose to go, the French police dropped in, attacked the meeting and arrested fifty patriots, including the President of the Congress, al-Aroussy al-Haddad, Saleh ibn Yousuf, Secretary-General of the *Destour*, and Shaikh al-Fadel ibn Achour, an eminent religious authority, and imprisoned them for a month. This severe measure aroused hostile feeling among the people, and led to a general strike on August 28. Since then, periodically, political demonstrations and agitation with bloody repression by the French police have taken place. Furthermore, the entire Tunisian nation, which remained loyal to its deposed monarch, Sidi Muhammad al-Munsif, continued to demand his return to the Tunisian throne.

Today the French Empire is raging with discontent, and France is facing serious difficulties throughout North Africa, where the peoples of al-Maghrib, or western territory of Islam, are self-conscious and impatient of an intolerable foreign rule. They are looking eastwards towards the sister Arab countries in the Middle East which have achieved their full independence. They lay great hopes upon the Arab League, expecting its positive action in defence of their cause. Their religious and political awakening is making good headway, and their struggle for emancipation is considered to be a stepping stone

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to joining the Arab League as sovereign States no matter that the achievement of their goal may seem difficult at the present time

MUSLIMS IN THE LATE ITALIAN EMPIRE

"There are some crimes which become innocent and even glorious by their boldness number and excess, thus it comes about that public theft is called ability, and to seize provinces unjustly is called making conquests. If these words of La Rochefoucauld are true then the empire of Fascist Italy was a typical illustration of that maxim

For on September 28, 1911 Italy declared war without any provocation, upon Turkey, in order to invade and seize Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Italy emerged from the war with these two Arab provinces in her possession.

The Arab tribes under the leadership of the Senussi order, fiercely opposed Italian rule. This order was founded in 1835 by Shaikh Muhammad ibn Ali as Senussi who was born in 1791 in the vicinity of Mostaghanem. Having made preliminary studies in his country, the Shaikh travelled widely throughout the Arab world in search of Islamic learning and eventually settled in Cyrenaica where he founded an important Zawia (religious and cultural centre) at al-Baida near Derna. The order named after him rapidly developed into a vast religious brotherhood with political power. Tribes rallied to him and the number of Zawias multiplied throughout Libya and the neigh

bouing territories. This organization soon wielded a great influence and political authority over vast regions of the African continent from the Libyan coast to the Sultanates of Central Africa. In 1855, the founder of the order took residence in the oasis of Jaghboub (Jarabub) which, at that time, was in Egyptian territory, and there he died in 1859.

Under his successors, the Senussi tribes continued to exercise a great political and religious influence in Libya and resisted Italian domination for twenty years, the main southern oases. Aoudjila, Djalô, Jaghbub and Kufra, remaining for a long time under Senussi authority. Serious revolts against the Italians were raised, and the last independent chief of the movement was Sayyid Ahmad ash-Sharif as-Senussi who died in the Hijaz in 1933.

Confronted with such a stout resistance, the Italians launched a great offensive against the rebellious Arab tribes.

Since the early years of the Fascist regime, the Italians had launched great offensives against the rebellious tribes which resisted their domination. They adopted a policy of pacification by extermination and sought to strengthen the Fascist hold on Libya by all kinds of oppressive measures. The ruthless brutal repressions by Marshal Graziani in Libya will long live in the memory of the Arabs. Horrors such as trussing up Senussi Shaikhs like animals and then throwing them savagely down from Italian aeroplanes

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upon their desperate villages burning the natives cattle, and the sealing up of wells, were committed by the Fascist troops of Graziani, who also murdered the seventy-year-old Libyan leader, Omar al Mukhtar, on September 16 1931. His successor, Sayyid Muhammad Idris as Senussi and his patriotic men had to take refuge in Egypt. Thousands of Libyan refugees thus came to settle in the western oases of Egyptian territory, and as many as 70 000 Libyan Arabs were driven by Fascist terror to seek asylum in Tunisia.

In her effort to control the oasis of Jaghbub, the last Senussi stronghold and seat of the tomb of the founder of the Senussi order Italy entered into negotiations with Egypt. An agreement was signed on December 6 1925 at Cairo by which Egypt recognized Italian sovereignty over Jaghbub and in return Italy ceded to Egypt the Ramleh wells north-west of Sollum on the Egyptian western frontier. In February 1926 the oasis of Jaghbub was occupied by an Italian military column.

Fascist Italy tried to push her North African possessions southwards. The Italian troops reached the oasis of Kufra in the heart of the Libyan Desert, and even went far beyond it driving a wedge between the French colony of Chad and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A few incidents were easily arranged, and Italy found herself in complete possession of a huge triangle of 40 000 square miles, which had theoretically been an Anglo Egyptian area.

In March 1937, when at the height of power, Mussolini made a spectacular ten-day tour of Libya. This tour, marked by an impressive naval display, reached a climax on March 16 when *Il Duce* made a triumphal entrance into Tripoli. Sitting astride his war-horse, Mussolini raised aloft a gem-studded sword and had the temerity to proclaim himself the "Protector of Islam" and the special friend of the Muslims, a claim which was at that time much resented in the Islamic world.

In 1938, the King-Emperor Victor Emmanuel III visited Marshal Balbo, who was Governor of Libya and festivities were held in Tripoli, with a parade of Fascist troops. In a speech, Marshal Balbo pointed out that "Italian rule has brought many benefits to Muslims in Libya."

These "benefits" concretized in a mass deportation of 80,000 Arabs of Northern Cyrenaica, from the fertile coastal region of Jebel al-Akhdar, to the extremes of the Great Syrte, an area of barren desert, in order to make room for enormous contingents of Italian colonists who were to be placed on that fertile land filched from its Arab owners. For, the Fascist Government had already confiscated some 150,000 acres of the coastal cultivated region belonging to the Arabs.

By a decree of January 9, 1939, the four provinces of Libya, Tripoli, Misurata, Benghazi, and Derna, were incorporated as part of the national territory of Italy, and called "Libia Italiana."

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From the beginning of the North African campaign in the late war the Senussi leader, Sayyid Idris, rallied wholeheartedly to the Allied cause, and assured the British Forces in Libya of the unswerving support of the Libyan Arabs, who furnished a valuable aid against the Axis forces. They took up arms against the hated invaders, gave to the British Forces valuable information of enemy dispositions and of local topography, supplied food and water from their often scanty resources and offered shelter to escaping prisoners. Their help was given, at times at grave risks to themselves, for there were British reverses as well as advances in Libya and, at each retreat the Italians took severe vengeance on the Arabs whom they suspected of having helped the British.

In 1942, the present head of the Senussi, Sayyid Idris was assured by the British Government that, after victory Cyrenaica would in no circumstances fall under Italian rule. The Sayyid paid a visit to his country in 1944 after an exile of twenty years, which was an opportunity for the people to manifest their loyalty to their leader and their aspirations to freedom and independence under his rule, as Emir. There are some 800 000 Arabs in Libya, who have a lively sense of freedom and there is an energetic class of educated Libyans who have formed a politically active Libyan National Front. Its programme is essentially to work for the achievement of independence and membership of the Arab League.

Pending a settlement of her future status, by the United Nations, Libya (Tripolitania and Cyrenaica) has been under British Military Administration since 1943.

With the gradual withdrawal of the British Forces from Egypt, Cyrenaica is acquiring a new importance in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the great aerodrome, constructed by the British at El Adem, is already a busy air junction.

The late Italian Empire also comprised Eritrea and the Italian Somaliland, the latter being inhabited by a solidly Muslim population. As for Eritrea, its northern part was occupied by Italy in 1895, which concluded the Treaty of Uccialli with Menelik, founder of the present Abyssinian dynasty. Some confusion, however, as to the rights of the treaty led, in 1896, to the disastrous battle of Adowa. In 1900, an Italo-Abyssinian treaty was concluded thus creating the present Eritrea. Beside the Arab natives, there are some 100,000 Muslim and Coptic Christian Abyssinians living in Eritrea, and an important European colony, too. The country has been modernized, possessing nowadays spacious, salubrious cities, especially, Asmara, the capital, which has an important airfield, Massawa and Keren.

Neither Eritrea nor Italian Somaliland provided a useful source of raw materials for Italian industries, nor a profitable market for Italian goods. But in their proximity lay Abyssinia which possesses a great potential wealth. Italy's policy with reference to that country was a combination of military interven-

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tion towards the end of the last century, and economic penetration

The Tripartite Treaty of 1906, signed by Great Britain France and Italy recognized the special interests of the three Powers in their respective spheres of influence in Abyssinia. The conclusion in 1926 of an agreement between Great Britain and Italy defining their respective interests in Ethiopia, marked the later development of Italy's policy of economic penetration, but Abyssinia, which had become a member of the League of Nations in 1923 formally protested to the League against this agreement.

The Fascist regime made popular in Italy the programme of colonial expansion and Mussolini revived a military policy the aim of which was to add Abyssinia to the new Fascist Empire. And thus on October 2 1935, Italy opened fire on Abyssinia without declaration of war. The Italo-Abyssinian war terminated in May 1936, with the decisive victory of the Italians, and the departure of Emperor Haile Selassie Negus of Abyssinia, from his country.

Throughout the Abyssinian war a violent wave of protest against the Italian aggression swayed a great portion of the Muslim world and a large section of the Muslim press supported the Abyssinian cause. It was natural that the invasion and subjugation of an oriental people by an imperialist Power should arouse great resentment and opposition in the East, always restive against-European domination.

Yet, the Muslims of Abyssinia, who amount to half of the total population, had reason to complain of the policy adopted by the Neguses of that country since almost a century. An attitude of almost open animosity towards Islam, a systematic pushing aside of the Muslims from taking their legitimate share in the administration of the country, and a complete neglect of Muslim educational requirements aroused resentment and even hostility among the Muslim tribes. Consequently, when the Italians invaded Abyssinia, the warlike tribes of the Aoussa, the Danakils, and the Gallas, turned their arms against the troops of the Negus, whom they considered to be their persecutor.

On June 1, 1936, the Fascist Government declared the constitution of *Africa Orientale Italiana* from the newly-conquered kingdom of Abyssinia, and the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland. With the annexation of Abyssinia and the proclamation of the new Fascist Empire, Italy had a Muslim population in her colonies of close on seven millions.

During the war, British and Imperial troops defeated the Italian armies in Abyssinia, Addis Ababa, the capital, being captured on April 5, 1941, and the British restored the Negus, Haile Selassie, to the throne, after having been in exile since 1936. Mogadishu, the capital of Italian Somaliland on the Indian Ocean, was captured by the British Forces on February 25, 1941, and Asmara on April 1, whereupon both colonies came under British Military Administration.

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CHANGING ALBANIA

Albania is another Muslim country in which Fascist Italy was much interested. It is made up of former parts of the Ottoman Empire, but in 1913 the European Powers recognized Albanian independence. In 1918 upon the collapse of Austria-Hungary the Allies set up a Provisional Government. This Government was opposed by the Albanian people and in 1920 a revolt broke out and a National Government was formed with Ahmad Zogu at its head. But in 1924 an insurrectionary movement led by Fan Noli, a Roman Catholic priest, forced Ahmad Zogu to fly from his country and take refuge in Yugoslavia. With Yugoslav aid he organized an army and reconquered Albania. In 1925 a new constitution was adopted with Zogu as president and in September 1928, he became King Zogu of Albania.

At the time of his reassumption of power Zogu had been inclined to rely upon Yugoslav assistance, but later he turned to Italy for help, and since 1925 Italian influence became preponderant.

There have been several serious reactions in Albania against Italian interference and economic penetration which steadily grew until, on April 7, 1939 Italian troops invaded and rapidly subdued the little mountainous country. On April 12 Mussolini declared Albania to be a part of the Italian Empire and its throne was offered to the House of Savoy. King Zogu went into exile in England and after the

war ended, came to settle in Egypt, where Victor Emmanuel, the former King-Emperor of Italy, also took refuge after the proclamation of the Italian Republic in 1946.

On October 28, 1940, Italy declared war on Greece and invaded that country from Albania. On April 6, 1941, German troops were sent through Yugoslavia to the assistance of Italy. The warlike Albanian people resolutely opposed the Axis invaders and widespread guerrilla war constantly harassed the enemy. The major resistance movement was the National Liberation Movement, led by Enver Hoxha (Khodja), an ex-schoolmaster and founder of the "Democratic Front". This movement had close connections with the Yugoslav Resistance Movement, led by Marshal Tito. During the Fascist occupation, Enver Khodja led a nationalist movement against Italian occupation, but he also opposed King Zogu. The patriot forces operated against the Italians and later, the Germans, and, on November 20, 1944, they liberated Tirana, the capital. By the end of November Scutari, the most northerly city of Albania, was freed and there were no more Germans on Albanian soil.

In January 1946, elections were held in Albania, and Colonel General Enver Khodja, leader of the Democratic Front Party (a pronounced Left party) obtained the majority. He proclaimed the deposition of King Zogu and the creation of the People's Republic

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of Albania, which is highly tinged with Soviet influence

Out of a total population of about one million, more than two thirds are Muslims. In the northern part of Albania Roman Catholicism has some hold, while the Orthodox Church is active in the southern part of the country. The peasants form more than ninety per cent of the population. Among the powerful forces in the country is the Bektashi Muslim sect, which took an active part in the struggle for the liberation of Albania.

THE ORDEAL OF PERSIA

Since the nineteenth century Persia has been a buffer state between two rival Powers. She was politically decadent, agriculturally and industrially atrophied and torn by internecine quarrels. She lacked security, stability and peace.

During the First World War the country was the battle ground of fighting between Russia and Turkey. Great Britain also joined in and the South Persian Rifles raised by Sir Percy Sykes were seriously engaged against both the Turkish troops and local hostile tribes, organized by the powerful German agent Wassmus. After the end of the war the British negotiated an agreement with Persia in 1919 by the terms of which Great Britain supplied expert advisers for the Persian administration. Moreover a Persian army, with British instructors, was to be set up.

After the advent of the Soviet régime in Russia, a Bolshevik force seized the Persian port of Enzeli (now Pahlevi) in 1920 and invaded the Caspian province of Gilân. The British, who had in the meantime, reorganized the Persian Kossack Division, and expelled its Russian officers, placed in its supreme command a Persian officer, Riza Khan the future Shahinshah of Iran.

At that time, there was increasing popular discontent at Teheran, the capital, with the corrupt and incompetent administration under the ruler, Sultan Ahmad Shah, and the political leaders approached Riza Khan. He marched at the head of his Persian Kossack Division on the capital and seized the power. He immediately formed a Cabinet and held the key-position of War Minister. His government, supported by the Majlis (Persian National Assembly) renounced the Treaty with Great Britain.

As for the Bolshevik invasion of Gilân, it was met with the bitter hostility of the population of that province, and there was no industrial population susceptible of being influenced by Bolshevik doctrines. The Russians then decided to evacuate the region and adopt a policy of friendship towards Persia. Accordingly, in 1921, a treaty was concluded in Moscow, by the terms of which Russia renounced all debts due to the Tsarist Government and handed over the *Banque d'Escompte*, a Russian business, various roads and the Julfa-Tabriz railway to Persia. Furthermore, in the

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same year, the Soviet Government renounced its capitulatory privileges in Iran

In 1923, Sultan Ahmad Shah, fearing for his life, left the country and took refuge in Europe. The Prime Minister, Riza Khan, was rapidly becoming all powerful and, on October 31, 1925 the National Assembly deposed the absent Sultan Ahmad, the last representative of the Kajar Dynasty, and on December 13, 1925 elected Riza Khan Pahlevi, Shah of Persia, and founder of the Pahlevi Dynasty

Within the space of two decades, Riza Khan, transformed Persia into a modern independent, progressive State. Under his impelling ægis and through his determination profound changes have been effected in the country

Having achieved recognition of full national sovereignty and independence for Iran Riza Khan created a powerful national army well equipped and well-trained. Military service became compulsory, and a military college for the training of officers was established. A small fleet in the Persian Gulf and the nucleus of a Persian Air Force were created. Through the army the central authority was asserted and exercised throughout the country. Thus the nomad tribes were gradually disarmed and made to settle down as peasants. Order and security were established

Important judicial reforms were made, a civil code based on a reconciliation between Islamic Law

and French Code, was enacted, whereas the new commercial code was designed to encourage economic development. Foreign capitulations were abolished

A movement to accentuate the Iranian feeling was encouraged, including attempts to standardize Iranian dress, and to wear the Pahlevi hat. The position of women greatly improved, the veil was discarded, and Iranian women entered social life. Iranian nationalism was reaffirmed through the creation of national museums, extensive and important excavations to unearth Persia's glorious past, and cultural manifestations as the Exhibition of Persian Art in 1931 at the Royal Academy in London, and the world-wide celebration of the Millenary of Persia's national poet al-Firdausi in November, 1934.

A general system of education was launched and special evening classes were opened up for uneducated adults. A national scheme for physical fitness was carried out, and modern standards of public health were urged. Large groups of students were sent to Europe for further studies. The literary movement greatly developed, and the number of newspapers, magazines and similar publications multiplied. Modern Persia counts a number of scholars, poets and men of letters, worthy successors of Omar Khayyam, Saâdi, and Hafiz.

Communications were much improved, numerous roads were constructed to link up the various cities. One of the notable achievements of Riza Khan was the uniting of the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea by

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the Trans-Iranian Railway, which was officially inaugurated on August 26, 1938. This line which runs from Bandar Shah on the Caspian Sea, to Bandar Shahpur, on the Persian Gulf, has a total length of 1,500 kilometres the total cost after eleven years work being approximately £3 00 00 000. It runs through the capital and opens up the fertile province of Mazanderan. There is today a railroad from Tabriz to Julfa and a branch line from Ahwaz to Khorramshah. Motor transport of passengers and goods is also carried out on all the main roads.

Great efforts were made to modernize the economic life of the country. Industry has been developed and numerous factories started. Sugar refineries up-to-date tobacco and cigarette factories cotton and silk spinning and weaving mills as well as a jute factory and a cement factory sprang up at various centres. An important manufacture is that of woollen carpets which is a domestic industry. Cotton fabrics shawls and silks are also produced.

A few years before the late war Germany supplied Persia with machinery for many of its factories while many German engineers were put in charge of the machinery they had installed.

The importance of Persia's oil production has inevitably attracted the interest of the great Powers. The principal oil concession was originally granted in 1901 to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company a British concern with an authorized capital of £3 30 00 000. The British Government is a shareholder in the Company.

to the amount of £20,00,000, and thus benefits to a great extent from the abundant supply of oil. The Company's property, covering an area of 100,000 square miles, is in the southern part of Persia, and under the terms of the concession the Company pays a royalty to the Persian Government on all oil sold in the country or exported. The Company has a refinery at Abadan, which is linked by pipe-line with the oilfields in the region of Masjid-i-Suleiman. The output in 1939 was 78,200,000 barrels (of 42 gallons) and in 1940, 78,600,000 barrels. The annual cash value of oil exports before the late war was in excess of £2,00,00,000.

During the inter-war period, steps were taken to improve the foreign relations of Persia. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's dispute was happily arranged in 1933, and relations with Britain became friendly and serene. Russian pressure was certainly felt; and Persia renewed the 1921 Treaty of Friendship with Soviet Russia, though at the same time reaffirming her sovereignty. As regards relations with Turkey, a satisfactory settlement over frontier questions was reached in the late twenties, a treaty of friendship concluded, and in 1934, the Shah paid an official visit to President Kamal Atatürk, whom he greatly admired. The relations with Afghanistan became very close. Frontier disputes with Iraq were settled through negotiations, and the Saadabad Four-Power Pact of 1937 was the happy conclusion of the policy of good neighbourhood and friendship.

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And finally the Royal Houses of Egypt and Persia were united when Iran's Crown Prince Shahpur Muhammad Riza, married Princess Fawzia, King Farouk's sister in March 1939 .

During the early phases of the Second World War, Nazi penetration increased in Iran though not all Germans in the country were fifth columnists. After Germany's invasion of Russia in June 1941 and the consequent Anglo-Soviet alliance the Russo-British positions in the Middle East became vulnerable owing to Nazi activities there. An Anglo-Russian ultimatum was addressed to the Persian Government demanding the expulsion of all Nazi agents and technicians. At first the ultimatum was turned down and resistance ordered but immediately military action was taken by Anglo-Russian troops and all resistance ceased within two days. Joint British-Soviet forces then occupied the whole of Persian territory and expelled all Germans.

On September 16 1941 Shah Riza Khan Pahlevi abdicated and left Teheran to go into exile. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad Riza Pahlevi who ascended the throne as a constitutional ruler. Shah Riza Khan died an embittered man in exile at Johannesburg in South Africa on July 26 1944. He was later buried in Cairo.

An Anglo-Soviet Treaty of alliance with Persia was signed on January 29 1942 by means of which the independence and territorial integrity of Persia were guaranteed by Great Britain and the U S S R.

On September 9, 1943, Persia declared war on the Axis Powers. But for Iran, the unpleasant rôle of being a buffer state between rival imperialisms recurred after the end of the Second World War. The eyes of Moscow were cast on Persia, for which a new ordeal began; and she has become once again a pawn in the game of the great Powers.

At a time when the Russians had been intensifying their endeavours to reduce or even eliminate British influence in Persia, a reform party was formed under the name of Tudeh, in 1942. Its programme which included the formation of trade unions, the social uplift of the lower classes and the introduction of an agrarian reform, appealed to the masses of Persian poor. It had, however, two important drawbacks first, that in some centres such as Isfahan it attacked religion, thereby losing sympathy, and secondly, that instead of asserting itself as a national party, it became progressively pro-Russian and followed the Soviet directives. Furthermore, a former Prime Minister, Sayyid Zia-ud-Din Tabâtîbâ'î, a capable politician, had returned from twenty years' exile in Palestine, and openly opposed the Tudeh Party. He founded the National Will movement, which firmly upheld religion, and worked for constructive reforms in all fields of national economy.

Meanwhile Russian policy aimed at moving south to find warm seas and oil. In December 1944, shortly after the Iranian Majlis (Parliament) had passed a law prohibiting the granting of oil concessions while

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foreign troops remained on Persian soil the Russians secretly negotiated an oil concession in Northern Persia covering an area of more than 150 000 square miles. A fifty one per cent share in the concession was to be held by the Russians while the Persians were to retain the minority interest.

Russia also began to reinforce her influence in the northern part of Persia which is occupied by the Red Armies. The Russians favoured the formation of a pro-Soviet "Democratic Party in Persian Azerbaijan, which soon clamoured for autonomy and manifested separatist tendencies towards the central Government at Teheran. In October 1945 a revolt broke out in Tabriz Persia's second largest city and made rapid progress. Rebel columns spread along the Caspian littoral to seize the town of Bandar Shah then moved south, occupying towns on the road to Teheran, and by the end of November, seemed to threaten the capital itself.

The Persian Government complained that the Red Army had blocked its military units sent to put down the revolt in Azerbaijan. Iranian appeals to Washington and London evoked diplomatic notes to Moscow and, finally the rebels turned away from the capital. The Persian Prime Minister Hakimi had decided in December 1945 to bring the matter before the United Nations, of which Persia was a member. But he, was forced to resign under political pressure, and was succeeded by Ahmad Qavam es Sultanah, who apparently did not seem to stand in the way of

Russian penetration, and even ordered the arrest of Sayyid Zia, the leader of the anti-Tudeh opposition

An agreement between the three Great Powers stipulated that the British and American troops in the south and the Russian troops in the north were to evacuate Persia entirely at a date not later than March 2, 1946. The Anglo-Saxon troops were withdrawn according to the agreement, but the Russian armies did not, and even in the Soviet-occupied regions to the north-west of Teheran, the Red Army was on the move. The Persian Government protested and brought the case before the Security Council of the United Nations. Russia refused to withdraw the Soviet troops in Persia until the "situation clarified." The Persian Premier, Qavam es-Sultanah, went to Moscow with the hope of securing the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from the northern provinces and achieving a settlement by means of direct consultations with the Kremlin. But he soon realized that while the Russians talked autonomy for Azerbaijan, they meant oil and a "friendly" government in Teheran.

Finally, under UNO pressure, the Red Army evacuated Persia entirely on May 6¹. A settlement

1 Soviet-Persian negotiations which were started in Moscow and continued in Teheran, ended on April 4, 1946. Soviet troops were to evacuate all Persian territory by May 6, 1946, a joint Russo-Persian oil company was to be set up, providing that Persia should hold 49 per cent of the shares, and Russia 51 per cent, and as for Azerbaijan, which was an internal problem, arrangements were made for "the solution of the present difficulties," including political and economic improvements.

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between the Persian Government in Teheran and the local "democratic" Government in Azerbaijan, was secured by which the autonomy of the province was recognized, but its allegiance to the central government maintained

The Soviet influence, however, continued unchecked and since the Majlis has become functionless, the Tudeh Party has multiplied its activities, as evidenced by the recent mass strike among the 70 000 Persian workers of the Anglo Iranian Oil Company's plant in Abadan, which was accompanied by riots and bloodshed. To counteract the Tudeh agitation, and protect the Company's interests which also means British interests, Great Britain moved some troops up to Basrah, in Iraq

The outcome of the Persian situation is that modern Persia is again on trial and seems, at the moment of writing, to be passing through a period of instability and restiveness

MODERN AFGHANISTAN

The Afghan Amir, Habibullah, who had succeeded his father Abdurrahman in 1901, was mysteriously assassinated on February 20, 1919. His thirty-year old son Amanullah Khan was recognized as King of Afghanistan. He declared war against the British and his troops captured Thal on May 3, 1919, whereupon the British forces occupied Dacca on May 13, it was the third Anglo-Afghan War. Finally a gentleman's agreement was concluded (Treaty of

Rawalpindi) on August 8, 1919, and later confirmed by another treaty on November 22, 1921. Britain recognized the complete independence of Afghanistan, and renounced control of her foreign policy. Amanullah then established friendly relations with Russia by means of a treaty concluded with the Soviets in September 1921. In the same month, he signed a political and commercial agreement with Persia, and, a few months earlier, a treaty of alliance with Turkey. A few years later (1927-28) he made a European tour, and also visited Egypt.

Having achieved the emancipation of his country from foreign control, King Amanullah decided upon a rapid and wholesale importation of the technique and ways of the West, which had much impressed him. He embarked upon internal changes, asserting the Government's authority and adopting high-handed policy. He committed the serious error of offending the religious authorities and overlooking the traditions of Islam in a conservative country deeply imbued with the religious spirit. The combination of harsh measures and the impatience with which he sought to carry out reform, inevitably led to trouble. Serious revolts broke out and discontent became widespread.

An insurrection broke out in the autumn of 1928, and a brigand leader named Bacha-i-Saqua, found it easy to usurp the power and proclaim himself ruler of Afghanistan. Amanullah abdicated on January 24, 1929, and went into exile in May. Nadir Shah, the former Afghan Minister in Paris, raised a strong

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army, which, under the command of his brother Sardar Shih Wali Khan, reconquered Kabul on October 8 and put an end to the reign of terror and anarchy set up by Bacha-i Siqua who was killed. On October 16 Nadir Shah was elected King by popular will and acclamation.

This wise King preferred to modernize and develop Afghanistan through peaceful evolution. A liberal constitution was promulgated in 1930 and legislative authority was vested in the Afghan Parliament—composed of a Senate (*Majlis al A'yan*) and a National Assembly (*Majlis Shura Milli*). Each province was given both an executive and consultative assembly, and local government was granted to towns.

Judiciary reforms in conformity with Islamic Law were made such as the establishment of a Supreme Court at Kabul and Appeal Courts in the provinces. Tribal Arbitration Committees and Permanent Boards of commercial disputes are assisted by consultative bodies with due regard to local and tribal custom and usage.

During the short reign of Nadir Shah who was assassinated on November 8 1933 a sound programme of national construction was carried out and continued under his son and successor the present ruler Muhammad Zahir Shah (born 1914).

The Afghan Army was reorganized; it became well-equipped and highly disciplined. A military

academy and a small air force were created and aerodromes built. Compulsory service is for a period of two years.

Education is free and primary education is compulsory. Besides the Kabul University (established in 1932), there are technical schools, experimental institutes, public libraries, Normal colleges and a museum.

Over 10,000 miles of metalled roads have been built, one of which connects the capital with the River Oxus. But the communications still need a great development. Afghanistan adheres to the International Postal and Telegraphic Union, and there are wireless stations. The building of Dar-ul-Aman, Amanullah's garden city, which was designed in 1923 and which had been abandoned in the reaction against Amanullah, has been resumed. Afghanistan is rich in natural resources which are as yet undeveloped. The country has gold, copper, iron, coal, in more or less abundance, and there is oil in the region to the west of Herat. On account of her high mountains and the abundance of water, electric power can be developed. Factories for munitions and for various commercial products, have been erected in Kabul. Silk, woollen, and hair cloths and carpets are manufactured. The population of Kabul has increased to over 150,000.

Afghanistan established several legations abroad and fostered her relations with the leading Muslim countries. The Second World War hardly touched

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the country which declared herself neutral. As an evidence of their goodwill and of their patriotic concern for the neutrality of their country the Afghan authorities ordered in 1911 the departure of the German and Italian nationals who were suspected of mischievous activity. Afghanistan thus implicitly showed her association with the cause of the United Nations of which she became an official member in December 1946.

MUSLIM INDIA

The Muslims conquered some peripheral regions of India in the seventh century but these conquests were temporary acquisitions in the Indus area and the North West. Three centuries were to pass before the foundations of a durable Muslim empire were laid and it was in 999 that Mahmood of Ghazni (in Afghanistan) began a long series of incursions into India no fewer than fifteen expeditions taking place between his first expedition and his death in 1030. One of these carried him beyond the Jumna while another ended in the capture of Somnath in Kathiawar. It was the Ghaznavide Dynasty which made Afghanistan the centre of a vast empire including Northern India, Khorasan, Tabaristan, and Turkish Afghanistan and Ghazni became a centre of learning from which Islamic culture radiated throughout Central Asia. Mahmood of Ghazni admired Persian literature encouraged scholars and scientists and maintained an elegant and cultured court. The succeeding dynasties of Afghan kings held power in India for five hundred

years, but their advance was gradual. One of them, Mohammad of Ghor, was the first conqueror to extend the permanent rule of Islam beyond the frontier provinces of Sind and the Punjab. When he returned to Khorasan, he handed over the Indian command to his general Qutbeddin, who annexed the greater part of Hindustan, and became ruler of the Indian provinces as Sultan of Delhi, after the death of Mohammad Ghor in 1206. His dynasty continued to rule till 1290 and generally managed to hold the Delhi empire together.

Further conquests were achieved by the Muslim rulers at Delhi who overran Gujarat and captured Chitor from the Rajputs. Their armies crossed the Narbada river and conquered a great part of the Deccan.

The Moghuls (Muslim Mongols), after overrunning Central and Western Asia, arrived in 1219, under Genghiz Khan at the frontiers of India, but did not cross the Indus. During the reign of the last monarch of the Tughlak line, the famous Tamerlane (or Timur) burst into India at the head of a mighty army, captured and sacked Delhi in 1398. A period of weak dynasties followed; frequent invasions from without and strife within, paved the way for larger conquests by the Moghul Emperors. In 1526, Baber¹ of Samarkand, a direct descendant of Timur, entered India from the north-west, overthrew the last of the Afghan Sultans at Panipat, which commands the Delhi corridor, and

1 He was a gifted poet and wrote fluently in Persian and Turkish

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founded the Moghul Empire, which at his death extended from the Oxus river in Central Asia to the borders of the Ganges Delta. His son, Humayun (1530-56) lost the major portion of the territory conquered by Baber, but recovered the portion of it including Delhi shortly before his death. He was followed by his son Akbar who during his long reign (1556-1605) extended and firmly established the Moghul Empire over the greater portion of India and his dominions extended over Kabul and Kandahar also. He followed up his conquests by important financial reforms, and among the great men of his time were the Hindu Todar Mall, his able finance minister, Abul Fazl the historian of his reign, and Faizi, the poet. He maintained a very rich court was a lover of art and music and became the most powerful monarch in the world. For very long periods of the Moghul period life was made tolerable for the Hindu masses in an India united under Muslim rule. Akbar's last great military victory was the capture of the Asirgarh fortress from the Portuguese in 1600 the year in which his astute contemporary, Queen Elizabeth of England, gave a charter to the East India Company.

Jahangir (1605-27) received in 1616 Sir Thomas Roe the ambassador of James I. Under Shah Jahan (1627-1658), the Moghul Empire reached the zenith of its glory. Many magnificent mosques and stately buildings including the Taj Mahal at Agra testify to its splendour and taste. The close of Shah Jahan's

reign embittered by the rivalries of his four sons. Aurangzeb (1658-1707), defeated his brothers, had great ability, and further extended the Moghul Empire in India. But from his death onwards, the decline of the empire began. Bahadur Shah (1702-12) succeeded in securing the crown after disputes as to the right of succession. After four short-lived emperors, Muhammad Shah (1718-48), grandson of Bahadur, came to the throne. His viceroys became rebellious, and so contributed to the success of the Mahrattas, who subdued the Deccan. About 1724, part of the Deccan became practically independent under Nizam-ul-Mulk (ancestor of the present Nizam of Hyderabad).

In 1738, to avenge an alleged insult, Nadir Shah of Persia invaded India, captured Delhi and carried off enormous plunder. All the country west of the Indus was lost to the empire. Nadir Shah was killed by an Afghan chief, Ahmad Shah, surnamed *Dorr-ed-Durrani* (pearl of the Durrani), who realized the Afghan unity and founded a royal Afghan dynasty. He invaded India four times (1748-1750), and died in 1773. Ahmad Shah was succeeded by weak rulers in India, Alamgir II (1754-1759), and Shah Alam (1759-1806), who came to terms with the British.

As the Moghuls declined, the power of the Hindu Mahrattas, whose empire lay to the east of Bombay, increased. Containing within itself the seeds of disintegration, the Mahratta Empire was fated to bend before the superior sway of the British.

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As for the Sikh Kingdom in the Punjab, its ruler Ranjit Singh (1780 1839) organized an army to oppose the British but after two wars the Sikh Kingdom was annexed and became the province of the Punjab (1849)

The East India Company entered India for commercial exploitation, but commercial imperialism was followed by military action British influence was established by the Company in a part of India during the eighteenth century Abuses in the Company's administration led the British Government in 1784 to supervise the political activities undertaken by the Company and appoint as governors general men chosen from outside the Company's service More conquests and annexations followed, until the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1857 Both Hindus and Muslims rose against the British, and after months of serious fighting, the rebellion was crushed the Muslims suffering much more than the Hindus in the reprisals that followed the trouble

On the morrow of the Mutiny, the British Government assumed direct control in India, which was to be governed by a viceroy and the Company's army was merged with the British army And in 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India

At the time of the Mutiny the most influential Muslim was Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan who, having witnessed those tragic events, set himself to the task of conciliating the Muslim community with the British

and working for the cultural uplift of the Muslims, by founding the Aligarh College which was to become a modern university and an important seat of learning.

In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded, under the inspiration of an Englishman, A. O. Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and including only upper class Hindus. It began by asking the British Government to appoint a commission to investigate the administration of India; gradually it grew more outspoken in its criticism, and more representative in its composition, until it claimed to voice the aspirations of Hindu India exclusively, disregarding, of course, the lower (depressed) classes.

But the Congress was not to remain for long, the sole political organization in India. For, in 1906, the Muslim League was founded as a representative institution for the Muslims and held annual meetings like those of the Congress.

As nationalist agitation grew, the British admitted the elective principle for the legislative councils. A very limited system of representative, but not responsible, government was introduced by the Minto-Morley Reform of 1909. As a part of this scheme and in response to a demand to Lord Minto, the Viceroy, by a Muslim deputation, headed by the Aga Khan, the Muslim community was given the right of representation in the councils by means of separate electorates.

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The reform of 1909 was adopted at a time when India was restive. In 1905, Lord Curzon, then Viceroy, had partitioned Bengal into two provinces largely for reasons of administrative efficiency. His action was bitterly resented by the Hindu intelligentsia on the ground that the Hindus of Eastern Bengal would dislike being included in a new province with a Muslim majority. In 1911 this measure was repealed as a concession to the Hindus and in order to grace the event of King George V's Durbar when the King and Queen Mary visited India, to be crowned with pomp as Emperor and Empress at Delhi the ancient imperial capital. The magnificence of this coronation Durbar was intended to impress the Indians with the fact that Great Britain assumed the sovereignty of the former Moghul emperors whose throne had been at Delhi.

Meanwhile the tide of nationalism was rapidly rising, and both the Congress and the Muslim League became antagonistic to British rule. In 1916 during the First World War, the two organizations concluded an alliance, as representatives of two distinct communities or nations both agreed by this Lucknow Pact to make a joint demand for complete self government.

British promises were easily given during the war and in 1919 a new Government of India Act was adopted as a step towards self-government. A central assembly was created but it was a debating society rather than a parliament. In the provinces

Indian parliaments were established, but they were given control only over certain social services.

The Indian nationalists were disappointed, and there was an outbreak of revolutionary agitation by extremists, and the arbitrary arrests and summary punishments that followed, embittered public feeling. More fiery was the indignation of the people following the Amritsar "massacre", when the military opened fire on unarmed civilians, killing several hundred and wounding a much larger number. By that time, Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who had become the dominating personality in the Indian Congress, turned from a friend of England to the leader of Indian nationalism and adversary of British rule.

Another important factor in the situation, during the post-war years, was the Khilafat movement in Muslim India, following the humiliating peace which the Great Powers imposed on Turkey by the Treaty of Sevres in 1920. There was a powerful agitation among the Muslims in India against the dismemberment of Turkey, because Turkey was the seat of the caliphate.

All these elements, combined with the personal authority of Gandhi, strengthened the nationalist movement immensely, in which the Muslims made common cause with the Hindus against foreign domination. Gandhi's non-co-operation plan was adopted in 1920 by the Congress. This policy included

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a national general strike an application of the *satya graha*, which meant, in the Mahatma's spirit a non-violent righteous indignation a resigning by Indians of offices or honours held from the British Government a boycotting of British schools, and India's boycott of foreign goods but above all, British cotton cloth Gandhi preached and practised the wearing of home-spun *khadar* cloth, and the spinning wheel was to be the emblem of Indian nationalism as the Mahatma desired it to be In his advocacy of *khadar* against machine-made cloth he and his disciples also wanted to manifest their distaste towards European industrialism Yet it is one of the paradoxes of Gandhi's policy that while he revolts against western machine manufacture and repudiates entirely the western civilization protected by naval and air forces, he himself wears eye glasses a factory product of the West Despite the spinning-wheel of Gandhi his followers are as yet incapable of doing without the necessary help of western science and technique

One of the noblest tasks Gandhi set himself to do—and because of which he became Mahatma Gandhi to the Hindus—is his most sincere efforts towards the uplift of the depressed classes for as is well-known Hindus are rigidly divided into hundreds of castes each of which is a watertight compartment and all keeping themselves apart from one another having special manners and customs of their own In some cases the people of one caste become

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foreigners to the people of other castes. And below the lowest caste, are the untouchables or outcastes. Now, Gandhi, a high-caste Hindu, ate, drank, and lived with outcastes. The idea of caste is so deadly serious a thing in the mind of a Hindu, because caste is an integral part of the Hindu religion which is believed by about 250 million Indians. It may be rightly argued that Hinduism without the caste system is no more Hinduism, yet, no one can deny the moral greatness of Gandhi's revolt against this terrible curse in Indian life. The extent of his moral revolution can be grasped if one thinks of the fact that in Hindu India the cow is held to be a sacred creature, and cows are allowed to wander where they please through the streets of some cities, nibbling and pulling at dainties from the shops without let or hindrance, whereas, woe betide the untouchable man or woman who by mistake brushes against the garment of a Brahmin. And there are some fifty million untouchables, *pariahs*. Gandhi calls them *harijans*, or children of God, while the Government of India applies to them the term of "scheduled castes."¹

Close co-operation between the Congress and the Muslim League in the national movement continued until 1922. By then, the "Khilafat movement faded away because of Mustafa Kamal's decision to abolish the caliphate in Turkey; and Gandhi, who

¹ Lately the untouchables began to clamour for political position, under the leadership of a member of their community, B R Ambedkar, Dr. of Science of Columbia University

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was about to launch civil disobedience, was arrested and imprisoned in March 1922 sentenced to six years imprisonment. Two years later, having fallen seriously ill Gandhi was operated upon successfully by a British surgeon, then released. After his release, Gandhi soon lost his commanding influence. Factional differences had appeared within the Congress, whereas the Muslims began to stand apart. The moderate elements in the Congress took part in the election of the new legislatures while the Extremists launched a terrorist campaign, which was accompanied by open hostility to the Muslims. The pernicious activities of Pandit Malaviya, and the anti-Muslim policy and methods of the Hindu Mahasabha—an exclusively Hindu political body, founded in 1910—naturally led to bitter resentment among the Muslims. The Hindu Muslim alliance was disrupted although many prominent Muslim figures at that time such as Maulana Muhammad Ali remained staunch nationalists. As for Gandhi, he retired from politics for a few years and devoted his attention to the social part of his programme.

In 1930, the Mahatma proclaimed the second campaign of his religious warfare, when the British refused the Hindu demand for certain immediate reforms and *purna swaraj* (complete independence). He opened his campaign of civil disobedience by picking up a handful of salt on the sea-shore, and thus broke the Government ban on a tax-free salt. He was arrested, and by the end of the year, as a

result of the movement, many thousands of men and women had joined him in prison. Finally, Gandhi was released, then, went to London to join the Round Table Conference studying the problem of a form of Government for India agreeable to all parties.

In 1935, a new Government of India Act was introduced. It provided for provincial autonomy with Indian ministers in charge of provincial governments including Law and Order. It came into force on April 1, 1937. A scheme for Federation was embodied in it, which provided for federation of British Indian provinces, and the States ruled by the Indian princes. There were lively protests against this scheme of federation, because of its reservation to the Viceroy of an immense power of veto and complete control by the British of defence, foreign affairs and finance.

Elections were held under the new 1935 Act, and as a result the Congress Party obtained clear majorities in six of the eleven provinces and proceeded to form ministries in the provinces it controlled. But it refused to include in their Ministries as representatives of the Muslim community any Muslim who was not himself a member of the Congress or an outspoken partisan of the Congress. Members of the Muslim League the representative institution of the Muslim community and Muslim interests were rigidly excluded. It became then quite clear that the Congress Party, in spite of Muslim "collaborationists" and even at times, a Muslim nominal

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President was for all intents and purposes a Hindu body. The Muslims began to "come round, as it were, from the "anaesthetic of supra communal nationalism, which has been so long administered to the people of India, by the Congress Party. The Muslims were all nationalists in the sense that, like the Hindus they were opposed to the British rule and wanted complete independence for India. Towards the achievement of that aim their leaders including the President of the Muslim League had for many years worked for the Hindu-Muslim alliance. The course of events however since the early thirties brought it home to the Muslims that however sincere the endeavours on both sides towards close co-operation between the two communities were, the leaders of the Congress, including its virtual dictator Gandhi, were thinking of "supra communal nationalism as a stepping stone to the ultimate subjection of the Muslim community to a Congress-ridden India. They persistently repeated the false assertion that India was one nation, which it certainly is not and widely diffused misleading slogans such as the clamour for democracy of the occidental type, Indian unity, and an arrangement overlooking religious division and so forth. The Congress nationalism became a perverted form of nationalism, it did not mean struggle towards freedom, but also that with the end of British rule, a Hindu raj and a Hindu hegemony must be established.

India is Hindu sums up the mental attitude of the Congress leaders. The Muslims began to be

more conscious than ever that, in reality, they were a nation entirely separate from the Hindu community, for whereas Hinduism is essentially a rigid and racial caste system, Islam is both a religion, a fundamentally democratic social order and a *nationality*. Furthermore, without abandoning their purely national interests in a free country, the Muslims tend to subordinate them to their Islamic internationalist or universalist principles a lofty and highly laudable aim, which the Congressmen repudiate as "extra-territorial patriotism". The Muslim conception of patriotism may be compared to an upsurging fountain-head outflowing into the wide world; whereas its Hindu conception is that of a shrinking snail solidly entrenched in an impenetrable shell. How can a united India arise from that?

All these elements have contributed to the Muslim desire for a separate nationality and a separate National State of their own. Already in 1930, at the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, the late Muhammad Iqbal, the greatest mind produced by Muslim India in modern times, expounded his idea for the establishment of a separate Muslim State in India. Following the 1937 elections, the inimical tactics adopted by the Congress convinced the Muslims that they could expect neither justice nor fair-play under Congress Government.

The idea of a separate National State where the Muslims can live their own way according to their own laws, culture, economic practices, and social

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customs spread among the Muslims of India who were fortunate in having as President of the All-India Muslim League a leader of exceptional ability, dignity, and poise of judgment, Mr Muhammad Ali Jinnah. His consistency of thinking, his profound sincerity in stimulating and urging his followers and his statesmanlike deliberateness have gone to make him the symbol of the political aspirations of Muslim India a figure of destiny.

In September 1939 the Working Committee of the Muslim League declared that Muslim India was irrevocably opposed to any federal objective which must necessarily result in a majority community (i.e. Hindu) under the guise of a democracy and a parliamentary system of government. Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of this country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national state. Since it is a basic fact that Hindus and Muslims are not just two distinct religious communities but two separate nations each, therefore like other nations must have its own separate National State. Finally these ideas crystallized in the resolution passed by the Muslim League in March 1940 firmly demanding the partition of India. The resolution demanded the reconsideration of the whole constitutional plan afresh stating that no plan would be acceptable to Muslims unless embracing the principle that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjust-

ments as may be necessary, that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent sovereign states. The League thus adopted the separate independent Muslim State, which has become known as Pakistan, as its official objective. The constituent units of Pakistan are the provinces of the Punjab, Kashmir, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan in the north-western areas of India, and Bengal and Assam in the eastern area.

In March 1942, the British Government sent a mission presided over by Sir Stafford Cripps, to India, to attempt to meet India's desire for emancipation. The object of the Cripps proposals was indicated to be the creation of a new Indian Union, which would form a Dominion under the Crown (with complete freedom to secede if it so wished), and the right was recognized "of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution, to retain its present constitutional position," provision being made for its subsequent accession to the Union if it afterwards so decided, or, for its forming along with other provinces a separate Union of its own.

Thus the Cripps offer accepted the principle of partition and the possible establishment of an independent Muslim State. This principle was opposed by the Congress Working Committee, under the inspiration of Gandhi, although one prominent Hindu and Congress leader, Mr C Rajagopalachari, urged

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that the non accession principle should be accepted as being now the only practical course. The Congress formulated demands which would secure power for the Hindus, and inevitably put the Muslims at the mercy of Congress rule

On the other hand, the Muslim League was dissatisfied with the Cripps offer, because its main object was the establishment of a single Indian Union the creation of more than one union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility

After negotiations lasting a fortnight the proposals were accepted by none of the party leaders and the political deadlock continued. In a speech on the result of the Cripps Mission on April 28 1942 Mr L S Amery Secretary of State for India in Mr Churchill's War Cabinet, said 'The Mission and the unanimous policy for which Sir Stafford Cripps endeavoured to secure acceptance were not a sudden improvisation to meet a critical external situation, the death-bed repentance of an unregenerate imperialism. They were the natural and indeed inevitable culmination of a steady development, during these last few years, of thought and feeling about India and Indian political aspirations

After the failure of the Cripps Mission to solve the deadlock in India, the Mahatma began the preparations for a new mass movement, declaring that India should sever her relations with Britain, not after the war, but at once. This "Quit India" movement Gandhi hoped, should lead to an immediate transfer

of power from the hands of the British to a national Congress government. By this time (May-June, 1942), he was making disconcerting assertions: he saw no difference between the United Nations and the Nazis, and included in his indictment the United States whose entry into the war after Pearl Harbour he condemned. "Even now," he declared, "the United States, but for the intoxication caused by her immense wealth, could withdraw from the war. If the British quitted India then Japan would probably not attack India." Already the sincere apostle of pacifism had praised Marshal Pétain's surrender of France; and repeatedly declared that the Nazis could be beaten only by non-violence. He could not see that his non-resistance seemed out-of-date in a world which was upset by the 'blitz' and Pearl Harbour.

Gandhi continued to develop his intensive campaign of mass civil disobedience, and, accordingly, on August 8, 1942, the Congress Committee passed a resolution adopting "open rebellion." But the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, acted promptly. His Government declared that it was entirely incompatible with the Government's responsibilities to the people of India and to the Allies that a demand for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British power should be discussed. It also pointed out that acceptance of the Congress demands would involve the abandonment of all other sections and parties in the country, including those great sections of the population which were giving unstinted and invaluable support against the Axis. It

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pointed out that the Congress in the interests of securing its own dominance, had consistently impeded efforts to bring India to full nationhood. On August 9 Gandhi was arrested and detained in the Aga Khan's Poona home. Violent disturbances ensued and, except for sporadic incident, subsided by the end of 1912.

After the end of hostilities in Europe, a political conference was held at Simla on June 25, 1945, to which political leaders including Gandhi and Jinnah, were invited. The purpose of the Conference, Viscount Wavell, the Viceroy, stated was to take counsel with him with a view to the formation of a new executive council more representative of organized Indian political opinion. The conference failed to reach an agreement on the question of how the council should be constituted in terms of parties and communities and was dissolved on July 14, 1945.

On March 24, 1946, a new British Cabinet mission to India, composed of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India in the Labour Government, Mr. A. V. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps, arrived at New Delhi. The purposes of the mission were stated to be the setting up of machinery whereby the forms under which India could realize her full independent status could be determined by Indians. The objective was to get agreement between the two major parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, on the method of deciding the constitutional structure and on the setting up of a new central government.

so as to bring India through her period of transition. After lengthy discussions in conference with the Indian leaders, the Cabinet mission's effort to obtain an agreed plan for working out a new Indian constitution broke down in an impasse. On May 16, the mission and the Viceroy issued a White Paper, in which they formulated proposals of their own. The mission's plan rejected Pakistan and set up an Indian union with a central government to control defence, foreign affairs, communications and taxes, it could raise revenues for those functions. The Paper offered the possibility of strong regional governments which could plan their own economic and social development. Two would be in the areas demanded for Pakistan, and one in the predominantly Hindu group.

The British proposed two intermediate steps leading to a final transition of power: first that the Viceroy will set up an interim all-Indian Cabinet, and secondly, the provincial assemblies and the princes' states will send delegates to a constituent assembly to frame a permanent constitution for India. The solutions proposed in the plan obviously went further towards satisfying the Hindus than the Muslims.

However, the Muslim League council, while reiterating its faith in the goal of Pakistan, as providing the only sure salvation for Muslims, passed a resolution on June 6, 1946, agreeing to work out the mission's plan in the belief that it provides the first instalment of Pakistan and allows for a further

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advance towards it when the time for constitution making and periodic revision comes

As regards the interim government, the Congress refused to agree to a British-proposed list of a fourteen man cabinet, named by Viscount Wavell, including five representatives from each of the two major parties and four others from minority groups. Gandhi insisted that the Congress Party be permitted to select an "independent" Muslim as one of its men for Cabinet rank, a proposition which the Muslim League speaking for all Muslims could not accept.

Towards the end of July, however, the Muslim League reversed its decision of June 6 when it accepted the Cabinet mission's long term plan, with misgivings. These misgivings were justified, the League's spokesmen declared, by the betrayal in respect of the interim government and its composition, at the hands of the British, and by the declaration of the Congress Party that it was committed to nothing. Two resolutions embodying the rejection of the plan for the Constituent Assembly and calling on the working committee of the party to prepare for direct action were passed unanimously. The first resolution pointed out that Congress, far from accepting the long-term proposals had, in fact on the statement of their own spokesmen repudiated the fundamentals of the long term scheme. In the light of the fact that no serious checks existed to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking by force majority decisions repugnant to the letter and spirit

of the scheme, the resolution stated that conditions precedent for the successful working of a constitution-making body did not exist. The Congress desire for a united India with a strong federal central government meant that 100,000,000 Muslims were to be brought under the yoke of the Hindu majority rule.

On August 12, the Viceroy then invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of an interim government, which the Congress President accepted. 'Meanwhile, the Muslim League fixed a day for mass Muslim demonstrations in protest against the British plan for India August 16, 1946. It was named "Direct Action Day" Communal feeling was becoming more bitter than before, and violent riots broke out in Calcutta and continued for some days, resulting in some 4,000 deaths and about 10,000 injured

Finally, on September 1, 1946, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru formed an interim government, which took office on the following day, in an atmosphere of Hindu-Muslim tension, for the Calcutta disturbances were a sharp reminder of what might well come.

The real issue between the two great communities in India is Pakistan. The Muslims believe that Congress hegemony spells Indian disaster, and have no liking to a Congress-dominated India. Undoubtedly the Congress leaders have among their ranks wise politicians with a high sense of compromise such as Mr. Rajagopalachari. Yet it is distressing to

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see an outstanding leader like Jawaharlal Nehru resort often to verbal excesses and to an exaggerated will to dominate tinged with the exclusive loyalty of a caste minded Hindu. And Gandhi is too great a saint to be a Hindu and too useful a politician to be a saint. In fact mutual tolerance and political wisdom are primary needs in a settlement of the problem of India. Pakistan in the mind of the Muslim means definitely and clearly freedom in my own house Pakistan, and goodwill and co-operation with my neighbour, Hindustan within a common quarter, India.

On March 26, 1940 at the annual session of the All India Muslim League it seemed as if the hand of destiny had decreed that the face of India marred by chronic internal strife and furrowed by intermittent convulsions should undergo a radical operation which would render it more normal more human more serene. This operation is called Pakistan. As with delicate surgical interventions the operation may need to be performed in two or more stages. But assuredly Pakistan is the radical cure for Patient India.

MUSLIMS IN MALAYA

There are some three or four million Muslims in British Malaya. Siam has a Muslim minority of 300 000 of Malay race.

Up till the Second World War, Malaya consisted of a block of British territory—including Singapore

Penang and Malacca; four Federal States Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan; and five States under native Sultans, who had not joined the Federation Johore, Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu. While nominally ruled by Sultans, these various Malay States are under the effective control of British residents. Recently, the Labour Government in Great Britain has worked out a plan to unify Britain's nine Malay States and the Straits Settlements (excluding Singapore which is to remain a separate colony) into a single Malay Union, a plan which had already been sketched under the Coalition Government. Sir Harold MacMichael, an outstanding Tory, went out in October 1945 to Malaya to explain the plan to the Sultans, but there were strong protests on the ground that the plan implied a coercion. Furthermore, the Sultans were opposed to it, as it would deprive them of all their powers (except their religious authority).

In Britain's plan for federation, the Malay inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula (ethnically allied to the Javanese and the Sumatrans) who form 41 per cent of the population, fear that they would become a minority in a state dominated by the Chinese, who form 43 per cent of the population, and who have established thriving business undertakings of their own. Huge numbers of Chinese were imported as foreign labour groups into Malaya, to work the tin mines for British corporations. Rubber plantation labour in Malaya is mostly Indian (13 per cent of the population).

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A word may be said about the Muslims in the French possessions in India. The settlement of Karikal contains a population of 56 000 of which one-tenth are Muslims. Of the total population in the French settlements (284 400) there are 18 000 Muslims. They lack adequate instruction but they have several charitable and educational associations such as the *Anjuman i Himayatul Islam* at Pondicherry, the Muslim literary circle at Karikal and the *Anjuman i Masfidoul Islam* at Chandernagor.

MUSLIMS IN INDO CHINA

There are some 100 000 Muslims living principally in the south of Indo China, in the main centres of Annam Cochin China and Cambodia. They may be divided into two groups of very different numerical importance. One group of a few thousands who are townsmen are of a varied origin. Malays, Afghans and Arabs, having a rather modest situation and Indians who are generally well to do merchants. Besides their wealth they are active in linking up the Muslim community of Indo-China with the rest of the Islamic world.

The second group of 80 000 comprises the majority of the Muslim population. They are autochthonous and not Malay in origin. Living in dispersed villages or hamlets of the nine different provinces of Cochin China or of Cambodia, almost all situated on water-courses they remain closely united with each other and with the rest of the Islamic world. They live

principally by trade, from water transports and fishing, and in spite of the distances that separate them they have frequent relations. Their school system creates among them a genuine spiritual unity. Closely associated in spite of differences in the rites, they are also in contact, through school missions, with the Muslim Malay centres in Kalanian, Patani, as well as with Arab centres in the Hijaz, through the regular pilgrimage to Mecca.

This autochthonous Muslim group is thus interesting for it is characterized by a spiritual and intellectual cohesion, a physical vigour, and an active economic rôle, since it is the only Indo-Chinese element which appears to be at a level with the Chinese or Indians.

THE INDONESIAN REPUBLIC

About the beginning of the Christian era, the East Indies were overrun by Buddhists from India, who settled in Java and Sumatra and founded some powerful Hindu empires with a flourishing civilization, the remains of which still exist, at the present day, in the Buddhist temples in the mountains of Java and also in the island of Bali, east of Java. In the course of the subsequent centuries, these empires underwent a process of decay, while their ultimate downfall was precipitated by the coming of Islam to these regions.

Islam, introduced into the Indonesian Archipelago by merchants from Arabia and India, soon spread among the inhabitants of the commercial towns of the

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northern coast of Sumatra and in Malacca From here the new religion extended over Palembang Java and to the Moluccas

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the several feudal states of the empire of Modjopait fell into the hands of Arabs and Indian Muslims A Muslim army was raised which succeeded about 1,500 in conquering the capital of this empire In the beginning the Muslim empire of Demak was the principal state in Java but with the extension of the political power of Islam over the other regions of the Malay Archipelago West Java was also conquered and the Sultanate of Bantam established During the sixteenth century, almost all the Hindu empires had disappeared from Java and the followers of Buddhism had crossed to the island of Bali which remains mainly Buddhist to the present day

By this time, the first Europeans the Portuguese made their appearance as explorers in quest of spices and obtained the monopoly of the spice trade from the Sultan of Ternate in the eastern part of the Indies Later came the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth century at first for trade purposes only, then it carried on war against the native Sultans and secured a firm footing in the Moluccas and in West Java at Batavia under the autocratic administration of Governor General Jan Pieterszoon Coen The outbreak of succession wars in the various native Sultanates afforded a welcome opportunity to the Company to extend its influence over Bantam and to

conquer the mighty empire of Mataram in the eighteenth century.

Having ousted the Portuguese from the Indies and subdued the native Sultanates, the Dutch East India Company launched a ruthless campaign of exploitation, forcing the natives to work, overcharging Europe for East Indian spices, and enriching Dutch stockholders. In 1798, the Company collapsed and its island possessions were taken over by the Dutch government. During the Napoleonic Wars, Holland was incorporated with the Napoleonic Empire in 1810, and Great Britain, then at war with Napoleon, seized the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which were ruled by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles for a few years, before they were returned to Holland in August 1816. Until 1877, the native labour of Java was employed to produce wealth for the Dutch government under the celebrated "system of forced culture." The Javanese were required to place at the government's disposal one-fifth of their land, and the government decided what crop was to be cultivated on this land. The cultivation was of course done by the natives, who were compelled to work one-fifth of their time without pay. In some districts, the natives were not allowed sufficient time or land to cultivate their staple food, rice, and famines were frequent. The evils of this enforced culture system and the oppression and cruelty employed in its administration were exposed forcefully in a book, *Max Havelaar*, by Multatuli (Edouard Dekker), a discharged Dutch

colonial official. His book, published in 1860, stirred public opinion deeply, and the liberals in Holland demanded reform of the colonial administration. Compulsory cultivation of sugar was gradually abandoned and disappeared in 1890 that of coffee remained in force until 1915. In place of the forced culture system, free labour and a system of private exploitation and enterprize gradually prevailed.

Since the beginning of the present century, the Dutch administration in Indonesia established a school system for the natives, characterized by the omission of such subjects as civics and European history, which if taught—so the Dutch thought—would awaken the natives to a sense of national conscience. Yet in spite of this educational policy, the young native intellectuals began already in 1908 to clamour for representative government.

The vast colonial empire that Holland established for herself in the last century included the great islands of Java, which is a vast Muslim land, larger than Portugal, and the most populous of the islands Sumatra as large as Great Britain, Borneo Celebes, and the Moluccas, and a part of New Guinea (Papua). The Indonesian archipelago comprises peoples in every stage of development from the primitive tribes of New Guinea to the highly cultivated Muslim Javanese. Java is politically pre eminent, not only in population—it is the most densely peopled country in the world—but in civilization and economic importance also. It has come most closely into contact with the modern

world and is the natural centre of political and economic life in Indonesia. Generally described as Malays, the inhabitants of the archipelago, however, do not form an ethnological entity. There are Sundanese in West Java, Javanese proper in Middle Java, Madurese in East Java. The Kubus in Southern Sumatra are primitive tribes, like the Papuans in New Guinea, whereas the Dayaks in Borneo are in a low state of development. The Muslim inhabitants of central Sumatra, the Menangkabau Malaysians, are a highly cultured race, builders of a beautiful architecture, skilled in the arts of weaving and gold and silversmith work, and good farmers. Farther north live the Bataks, a section of whom are Muslims. The Minahassa in North Celebes and the island of Amboyna in the Moluccas are the only regions where Christianity has obtained a strong foothold. Islam prevails among the Toradjas in the Middle Celebes, and they are cultured people. Indonesia has a vast Muslim population estimated at over sixty millions. The remainder of the inhabitants are largely Buddhists and animists.

Indonesia, especially Java, are rich in natural resources and have been intensely and efficiently developed. Among the main commodities are petroleum (3 per cent of pre-war production), rubber (37 per cent), sugar, tin (17 per cent), pepper (80 per cent), quinine, tea (19 per cent), coffee, and palm oil. Before the Second World War, ninety-one per cent of the world's supply of quinine came from Java, and

during the years preceding the war, a development of industry there went fast apace.

Up till the end of the last century, the Dutch were content to govern largely through native princes in most of the territories except Java which remained almost entirely under direct Dutch rule. The late Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, an outstanding orientalist who was the Dutch government's adviser on native affairs suggested an agreement by which the native Sultans declared that they would obey all Dutch regulations and orders issued or to be issued with regard to their region in exchange for which the Dutch government recognized their ranks and dignities. In 1919, the new relations between the nominal Sultans and the Dutch government were embodied in a Native States Regulations Act.

As already said the natives in Java began to bestir themselves a few years before the First World War demanding self-government. An active religious renewal and intellectual rise took place among the Muslims, and societies or parties with a cultural religious and political programme were formed. The Society of *Sharikat Islam* founded in 1912 by Shakhro 'Aminoto the *Boedi Oetomo* and the *Muhammadiyah*-Party aimed at the extension of Muslim education, the social and economic uplift of the masses. The main cultural centres were Batavia and Sourabaya.

In 1916, an important congress was held by the *Sharikat Islam* and attended by eighty local associations representing several hundred thousand members.

which proclaimed its objective as being 'to raise native society to a nation.' The *Sharikat Islam* also led a movement for Islamic renewal.

In 1927, Dr. Ahmad Soekarno, an engineer who had been a prominent nationalist leader, founded a new political party in Batavia, the *Persatoen Nasional Indonesia*, to which all politically-minded intellectuals adhered. This party aimed at breaking away from the Netherlands and bringing about the emancipation of Indonesia. But the Dutch Government was bent on a policy of repression, and in 1929 Soekarno was interned first on the island of Flores, and afterwards in Southern Sumatra. In 1934, another leader, Dr. Muhammad Hatta was also interned by the Dutch on the island of Banda (Moluccas).

During the last few years before the Second World War, the nationalist movement gathered in intensity, and the natives became more urgent in their demand for self-rule. The Dutch arrested the nationalist leaders; Soekarno, Sjahrir (who had been the promoter of Youth Study Clubs throughout Java, Sumatra, Celebes), and Hatta, and deported them to Dutch New Guinea.

In the inter-war period a good deal of discussion and speculations agitated the public mind in Holland and elsewhere about the future of the Dutch East Indies. Questions were put: Would imperialistic Japan one day seize them? Did the Singapore fortifications which were strengthened by Great Britain constitute a British menace to the Dutch possessions?

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The answer came during the Second World War when Holland lost the East Indies and the British lost Singapore to the Japanese in 1942

During the Japanese occupation the natives had to support many troubles and exactions at the hands of the aggressors. Yet the nationalist feeling continued to run high, the popular sentiment being antagonism towards foreign rule. Dutch and Japanese alike. Meanwhile, the political leader Dr Soekarno, who had been set free along with his co-workers intensified the campaign for emancipation as soon as the opportunity came. So that after the collapse of Japan and her surrender in 1945 a severe rising took place all over the island of Java. The nationalists led by Dr Soekarno, proclaimed a 'democratic Indonesian Republic' on August 17, 1945 and Dr Soekarno became its President. A national Indonesian government was set up with Dr Sjahrir as Premier and Muhammad Hatta as vice-president. A "national army" was raised and heavy fighting soon occurred between the Indonesian troops and the British forces which belonged to the South East Asia Command of Admiral Lord Mountbatten and took over the control of the Dutch Indies after Japan's surrender. The main centres of national resistance were in the Javanese cities of Batavia, Sourabaya, Samarang, Jockjakarta, and Bandung. The nationalists resisted firmly a restoration of Dutch imperialism in the East Indies. During the fighting, uncontrolled bands brutally assassinated twenty two Allied soldiers.

and, as a reprisal, the British troops destroyed the little town of Beknassi, in December 1945, and Dutch troops killed sixty Indonesian policemen in cold-blood at the Batavia police station.

The British intervention in Indonesia was technically for the sake of accepting the Japanese surrender and, according to traditional tactics, keeping order until a lawful government of the islands was able to function again. The British seemed to favour neither full native autonomy nor a return to pre-war colonialism.

Finally, the British put the Dutch back firmly into several bridgeheads. The Indonesian "affair" was brought up by Russia before the Security Council of the United Nations, and a request made to send a commission of inquiry to Java, but the proposal was refused.

The resistance of the Indonesians to colonial domination continued with a determination to obtain independence and liberation from Dutch control. Under the Chairmanship of the British representative, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr (later Lord Inverchapel), the Dutch Governor-General, Dr. Van Mook, opened negotiations with the moderate Soetan Sjahrir, Chief of the Republican Government, for a Dutch-Indonesian settlement. In February, 1946, the Dutch Government at the Hague put forward proposals, which provided for the creation of an Indonesian Commonwealth consisting of member countries enjoying different degrees of autonomy, ruled by a

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democratically-constituted Commonwealth Government headed by a representative of the Dutch Crown and forming one of the constituent parts of the Netherlands Kingdom. This scheme promised to give the Indonesians a large measure of immediate self government. A new constitutional structure was to be built up after the acceptance of the scheme by the Republican Nationalists as a working basis for discussions at a round table conference. The Dutch negotiator tried to persuade the Nationalists to take their place at an Empire Conference.

The negotiations at Batavia were much protracted, but finally plans for a settlement were worked out between Dr Van Mook, Lord Inverchapel, the British negotiator and Dr Sjahrir, the Indonesian representative. Early in April Lord Inverchapel made it clear that final agreement depended only on the wisdom and realism of the Dutch people and that all that remained to be done was for the Netherlands Government to give its approval to the plans worked out. On April 3 Sjahrir confirmed the same indication in an interview with the Indonesian press, declaring that 'a draft agreement had been worked out which was now being submitted to the Hague and Djokjakarta (the seat of the Indonesian Republican Government).

The British view was that the Indonesian people would welcome Dutch assistance in setting up their own Government but that the Indonesians were determined to hold to their demands for a Republic.

The prospects of an agreement seemed to be hopeful as long as the Labourite Prof. Schermerhorn headed the Netherlands Government. But, when the Dutch parliamentary elections gave the Right-Wing Parties a majority, Queen Wilhelmina asked the Catholic leader Dr. Beel to form a new Government. Chances of an amicable agreement in Indonesia then sagged noticeably. As an illustration of the reactions of different sections of the Netherlands public, the following passage may be quoted from one of the newspapers of the Right, "*Trouw*" (Faithfulness), the organ of the anti-revolutionaries: "God has confided to us, Dutch, the protection and administration of those countries. We have a divine mission to fulfil, we are chosen to promote Christianity in these populations If we do not meet them with enough force to repress, by the arms, every insurrection against our power, the Netherlands Indies will be lost as a 'colony' the souls of so many natives lost for Christianity and all the capital invested in tropical plantations for Dutch capitalists (and thereby for Dutch prosperity)" A similar attitude is shown by many former colonial officials, owners of plantations, industrials, and imperialist diehards, in general

On the other hand, another section of the Dutch public desired to see Indonesia given full autonomy, arguing that the Dutch themselves had suffered, for five years the yoke of an oppressor and, having obtained their own liberation, they should not refuse this liberty to other people. The Dutch soldiers,

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who had embarked after the war for Indonesia, were reported to have expressed their sentiment thus "Why have we fought for five years to deliver ourselves, and should now prevent others, by force, to do the same?"

During the summer, conditions in the islands continued to be serious and there were clashes between the Dutch forces and the Nationalists, and, on August 17 1946, the Indonesians widely celebrated the first anniversary of the setting up of the Indonesian Republic.

The British tried to bring about a peaceful settlement and, in September Lord Killearn, the special British Commissioner for South East Asia, arrived in Batavia from Singapore for exploratory talks with a view to the resumption of negotiations between the Dutch and the Indonesians.

The period of revolutionary violence seemed to be subsiding, and the Indonesian representatives, led by Sjahrir and Amir Sharifuddin the Minister of Defence in the Indonesian Republican Cabinet, were prepared to co-operate with the Dutch especially in technical matters if their right to effective independence were recognized. On November 15, at Cheribon, a draft agreement was initialled by the Dutch Commissioners General and the representatives of the Republic of Indonesia providing for the creation of the United States of Indonesia by the co-operation of the Dutch authorities with the authorities of the

Indonesian Republics. The British occupation of Java ended officially on November 30, 1946

Early in December 1946, Dr Jonkman, the Dutch Minister of Overseas Territories, announced that the Cheribon agreement meant that the Netherlands had completely broken with the old colonial tradition and was now prepared to co-operate permanently with Indonesians on a footing of complete equality. The United States of Indonesia, which will be a sovereign State federal in form, is to join the Kingdom of the Netherlands in creating the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, with its own federal institutions on a level superior to the institutions of each of its independent members

The constituent elements of the United States of Indonesia will be the Indonesian Republic, whose effective control over Java, Sumatra, and Madura has been acknowledged by Holland, Borneo, and the "Great East" (made up of Bali, the Celebes, the Moluccas, Dutch New Guinea and the lesser Sunda Islands); and provision is made to determine its constitution on a democratic basis. As soon as it comes into existence, the Netherlands-Indonesian Union can be formed, and it is hoped that the complex process will be completed within two years

MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The only Muslim community subject to the sovereignty of the United States is established in the southern islands of the Philippine Archipelago. It

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had ample reason to rejoice when, on July 4 1946, American Independence Day the new independent Philippine Republic came formally into being

The Philippine Islands were originally acquired by the United States from Spain in 1898 in the treaty settling the Spanish-American war, and their new independence was described by President Truman, in a message broadcast to the islands, as ' a great experiment in Pacific democracy

Islam had been introduced into the Philippine Islands from Indonesia in the south-west in the fourteenth century and spread, partly by immigration and partly by conversion mainly in the Sulu Islands and Mindanao and in scattered coastal districts as far north as Luzon Manila itself was a Muslim settlement The Spaniards meeting Muslims at the end of their westward travelling from Spain, called them Moros that is to say Moors and today the Muslim Filipinos are still known as Moros Spain never really conquered the Muslims who were the most formidable military opponents to the Spanish conquest remaining in Mindanao and the Sulu Islands as a separate community under their own rulers In contrast with the pagan inhabitants of the Islands the Muslims possessed a highly developed civilization were bold and skilful sailors and could muster a considerable fleet The Spaniards were able to convert the large majority of the pagan groups in the Islands to Roman Catholicism but they met with the stubborn resistance of the Moros to conversion Consequently,

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the Muslims were either forcibly converted, killed or driven out by the Spaniards, so that Islam disappeared in Luzon and the central islands (the Visayas), but in Mindanao and Sulu they remain till the present day. According to the 1939 census, the Muslims in the Philippines numbered 677,903 and the Roman Catholics 12,603,365.

During the Second World War, Japan invaded and occupied the Philippine Islands for two-and-a-half years. Then powerful United States forces under General MacArthur landed on Leyte Island on October 20, 1944, and began to liberate the islands. Manila was entered on February 4, 1945, and on February 26, General MacArthur restored responsibility for civil affairs to the Philippine Government. When the new sovereign and independent Philippine Republic was born on July 4, 1946, General MacArthur, who attended the ceremony, said that the eyes of all oppressed peoples were that day cast upon the newly-born Philippine nation, whose birth should foretell the end of mastery over peoples by the power of force alone.

MUSLIMS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics contains Muslim populations estimated at close on thirty million, in a total population of 195 million. The Muslims live mainly in the Caucasus region, in the Volga-Ural region, and in the Central Asian Republics.

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The Caucasus region—the great isthmus linking Eurasia with western Asia immemorial crossroad of culture and trampling ground of aggressive armies—is a mosaic of different peoples, estimated at about twelve million of which a little more than half are Muslims. North Caucasus is divided into Circassia in the west (comprising Circassians, Abkhazs and Kabards which differ only in name and in dialect, and are established, in addition along the littoral of the Black Sea), the Chechents, peoples and the Ingouchs their cousins, and the Ossetians in the centre. To the east are the peoples of Daghestan, a proud, martial and self-conscious race.

Transcaucasia lying beyond the immense massif of the Central Caucasus comprises the two ancient Christian Provinces of Georgia (capital Tiflis or Tibilisi) and Armenia (capital Erivan) and Caucasian Azerbaijan (capital Baku). The Armenians form a compact mass in Transcaucasia but within Armenia there is a small group of 40 000 Muslim non-Armenians, who belong to the Abkhazs, while Georgia contains among its inhabitants a minority of Muslim Adjars estimated at about 250 000.

Muslim Tatars had established themselves solidly in the Crimea where they became a fixed element and developed a political unity of their own which was ruled by their Khans until 1783 the year in which the Tsarina Catherine annexed the Khanate of the Crimea to the Russian Empire. This subjection of Crimea with its capital Bagchaserai fore-

shadowed Russian expansion southward. But, while Transcaucasia fell to the Russian troops between 1801 and 1829, the Muslim peoples of North Caucasus offered fierce resistance to the Slav invaders for seventy years. The^o duration and vigour of Muslim resistance was mainly due to the united action of the peoples of Daghestan under the leadership of remarkable chiefs, the Imams Kazi Mohammed, Hamza, and Shamil. For twenty-five years, Imam Shamil, with unbelievable bravery, and all-round ability, continued the bitter struggle against the Russians, holding up their advance. Finally, owing to the overwhelming power and resources of Russia, Muslim resistance was crushed and Shamil captured in 1859. The subjection of North Caucasus became complete when, in 1864, Circassia was conquered by Russia, and every vestige of the former power of the Muslims taken away. After the conquest of the Caucasus, Russia had her hands free for expansion eastward. After securing almost all the territory between the Black Sea and the Caspian and coming to the borders of Persia, the way lay open for her to undertake the conquest of Turkestan. Breaking an agreement signed with England concerning the neutrality of Turkestan, Russia invaded and gradually conquered it, the final stroke being the capture, in 1868, of Samarkand. Despite desperate resistance of the Muslims of Central Asia, Khokand and Merv were also captured and soon the advance brought Russia to the frontiers of Afghanistan, which was a British sphere of influence.

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The outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917, gave the subject peoples of the Caucasus an opportunity of asserting their rights to freedom by separating themselves from Russia and creating independent states. Particularly among the peoples of Daghestan a renewed nationalist rising had taken place, this time under the guidance of Haider Bammate, an able leader gifted with considerable diplomatic talents. In May 1918 four independent republics were created Armenia Georgia Azerbaijan and North Caucasus. Armenia and Georgia were Christian, and the two others Azerbaijan and North Caucasus (Daghestan and Circassia) were Muslim. North Caucasus being particularly exposed had to fight for their independence against the white armies of the counter-revolution, which wished to restore the Empire and against the Communists who after fallacious promises of liberty and independence finally subdued the insurgent provinces, subjecting them to a much heavier yoke than that of Tsarist times. The three republics of Transcaucasia suffered the same fate shortly after.

In 1921, the whole Caucasus was again under Russian domination.¹ In Central Asia, on the other

1 The national governments of the Caucasian republic followed by a certain number of their compatriots emigrated to Paris and during the inter war decades directed from the French capital their propaganda and their action towards a recovery of the independence of their country. While they all pursued a single and similar end the political emigration of the Caucasus was divided into two camps which included both of them politicians from the four republics. The one led by the Georgian social

hand, the consolidation of Soviet authority was delayed by Enver Pasha, the powerful general, who was the Turkish Minister of War during the First World War. He put up a gallant defence and sought to establish an anti-Soviet Islamic state in Central Asia, until he was defeated and slain by the Bolsheviks near the Afghan border, in August 1922.

After its reattachment by force to Soviet Russia, Turkestan was divided into five Central Asian Republics¹: Turkomanistan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan,

democrats attached itself to the Second International and adopted a secretly hostile attitude towards Islam. Their Muslim partners from Azerbaijan and North Caucasus associated themselves with them because of their weakness and for reasons of opportunity. The principal publication in French of this group was *Prométhée*, which appeared in Paris.

The other movement, the leader of which was Haider Bammate, considered that the Caucasus was not able to assure its independence against Russia with its own forces alone. He advised the Caucasians to turn resolutely towards their neighbours in the south and in the east: Turkey, the Arab States, Persia, and Afghanistan. The principal publication in French of this group was the monthly review, *Le Caucase*. This review appeared also in German, in Russian, in Georgian, in Armenian and, from time to time and under various titles, in Turkish. Two collections of articles appeared also in English under the title of *The Caucasian Quarterly*. The Muslim chiefs who were at the head of this movement looked upon the peoples of the vast Islamic world as the natural allies of the Caucasus, for over them, also, was suspended the peril of Russian imperialism, seeking the command of the Straits, the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, with the port of Alexandretta, and of the Persian Gulf. In addition, the Muslim chiefs who were at the head of this movement, had not much confidence in the sincerity of their Georgian socialistic adversaries, a fact which was confirmed by later events.

1 The Soviet régime russified the Turkish names of places in many regions of what was formerly known as Western or Russian Turkestan.

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Kazakstan, and Kirghizstan Muslims form the great majority of their populations

Turkomanistan is bounded by the Caspian Sea on the west and by Persia on the south, with Afghanistan as a south-eastern neighbour Its capital is Poltarask (formerly Ashkabad), and there is a motor service between it and Meshed in Persia Other important cities in this province are Merv and Charuzur The Turkomans have largely settled down as farmers and cattle-breeders

Uzbekistan comprises the former states of Bokhara and Khiva and the Kara Kalpak Socialist Soviet Republic The present capital is Tashkent (population about 600 000) which is the seat of the University of Central Asia founded in 1923 Samarkand the ancient capital of Tamerlane contains the famous Tilla-Karje Mosque the Gur-Emir (Tamerlane's mausoleum completed in 1400 A.D. by Ulug-Bek, Tamerlane's astronomer grandson, and a fifteenth century observatory, recently restored Other important cities of a glorious Islamic past are Bokhara, the seat of the famous Kaljan Mosque (eleventh century) Khokand Ferghana, and Khiva or Khwarazm, formerly the Khanate of Khiva Bokhara is an important station on the Russian trans-Caspian railway

The country occupies the fertile delta of the Oxus, it contains the finest cotton lands of the Soviet Union and this Oxus river which may be call

ed the Soviet Nile is highly productive. The Uzbeks now-a-days largely cultivate cotton and grain.

Tadjikistan lies between Bokhara on the west and the Kara Kirghiz territory, with Afghanistan as its southern neighbour.^a The capital is Stalinabad. The Tajiks belong to an old Iranian stock.

Kazakstan, with parts of the former governorship of Turkestan, was admitted to the U.S.S.R. in December, 1936. It comprises an area of about 1,048,000 square miles with a population estimated at six million. Alma Ata is the capital.

Kirghizstan was admitted to the U.S.S.R. in 1936 and has a population of about 1,500,000 (Kirghiz and Uzbeks). Its capital is Frounze (formerly Pishpek).

A new factor in the whole area of the Central Asian Republics is their steady industrialization, accompanied by the rapid growth of town population. New irrigation schemes, worked out by American engineers, have made large areas available for cotton-growing which is used to supply Russian textile industry. Mechanized agriculture has greatly increased food production. Hydro-electric stations have been constructed and extensively operated.

Near Kazan and below the confluence of the Kama and the Volga, are the remains of the Muslim town of Bolgary. In the far north of Russian central Asia, live the Muslim Yakuts, while in the Ural-Volga region, there are Muslim Tatar and Bashkir groups.

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With the outbreak of Bolshevik¹ revolution, the Muslims were the first community in Russia to openly and fearlessly oppose the Communist doctrine which is incompatible with Islam. Like all other communities in Soviet Russia they were not exempt from religious persecutions. The Communists when face to face with Islam adopted a double policy. Externally, they began as early as 1920 to pose as 'Liberators' of the oppressed oriental peoples from capitalist exploitation and European imperialistic colonization. Internally, towards the Muslims² in the Soviet Union, they resorted to a systematic persecution and a progressive closing and destruction of mosques a dissolution of religious congregations a closing down of Quranic schools and an expropriation of the great land properties of Muslims. There followed an active anti religious propaganda and a breaking up of the nationalist movements such as the Pan-Turanian or Pan-Turkish. Furthermore, the pilgrimage to Mecca was prohibited and any contact with the rest of the Islamic world barred. The 'Godless Movement' energetically worked for the destruction of religious beliefs throughout the Soviet Union and preached atheism with vigour. In the Caucasus and in Central Asia, this movement met with the stubborn resistance and hostility of the Muslims.

At the General Islamic Congress held at Jerusalem in December, 1931, a startling report was made

1 From the Russian word for majority. Soviet is the Russian word for "Council"

on the conditions of Muslims in Soviet Russia by Iyadh Ishaqi, President of the Committee for Independence of the Muslims of the Volga and the Ural, who had gone into exile after the Revolution. This report gave an appalling picture of the wholesale persecution and sufferings of the Muslims under the Communist regime. A similar report on the situation of the Muslims in the Caucasus was made by another Muslim representative, Said Shamil.

Communist propaganda and anti-religious campaigns were intensified in Central Asia. Tashkent became the seat of the Central Asian bureau of the Communist party, and of the offices of the *Pravda* of the Orient. Communist slogans were plastered on the walls of the former Quranic schools and mosques of Bokhara. At Samarkand, the Bolsheviks demolished the minaret of the Great Mosque and erected in its place a huge statue of Lenin with the significant inscription: "No more will the Muezzins call the Faithful from the top of the minarets but . . . Lenin."

The Komintern, before its official dissolution during the last War, endeavoured through indirect channels to influence the proletarian classes in the Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa.

A short time before the Second World War, the Soviet Government, foreseeing the world conflict approaching and preparing very actively for the

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eventual outbreak of hostilities in Europe, thought it expedient to diminish its strong pressure against the Muslims in the Soviet Union. The Moscow Government even sought in a certain measure a reconciliation by nominating as Grand Mufti Abdul Rahman Rasulev for the Muslim communities of the Volga and Ural territories.

In the course of the Second World War Russia mobilized about five million Muslims, of which more than sixty per cent perished, for the Russians placed them at the front in the most exposed positions. Sebastopol, Stalingrad, Berlin. This was a means to attain two ends at the same time: to utilize the most courageous units where the military situation demanded it, and to reduce at the same time, as far as possible, those Muslim populations least attached to their system. In fact, this war measure was in accord with the Soviet policy which considers the Muslim populations to be a potential revolutionary force, the annihilation of which would at the same time economize the Slav race. More than 500 000 Muslims were made prisoner by the Germans and most of them in the early phases of war with Russia. A great number of these surrendered voluntarily, trusting to the propaganda of the political emigrants from the Caucasus, Turkestan and the Crimea, who, betrayed by German promises, presented the Germans as favourable to the independence of their countries. In consequence of this propaganda, and out of hatred to the Communist system, the Muslim populations of the Crimea and of

that part of North Caucasus which was occupied by the *Wehrmacht*, welcomed the Germans as liberators.

It will not escape notice that there was nothing treacherous in the attitude of these Muslim populations, of different race, religion, language, culture, and morals from their Slav masters. Their attitude was dictated, not by a sympathy with the Nazis but by the hope of recovering independence of their homelands, for they had never acquiesced in the loss of their freedom.

Yet the Soviet Government had the intention of avenging itself for this attitude. Several months after the end of war, it took the draconian measure of suppressing the republics of the Crimea, of Kabarda-Balkaria, and of Tchechentsia-Ingouchia. The Russians imposed a terrible fate on their Muslim populations of about one million, which were deported, including women, old men and children, and dispersed in the remote regions of Russia. This collective deportation, inflicted by Soviet methods, has involved an appalling loss of life, wealth and happiness.

It is to be noted that in the case of the republics of Tchechentsia-Ingouchia, the population of which amounted before the war to about 700,000, the Soviet measures were all the more arbitrary and unjust, for the German troops never reached these territories. The real motive was to make an end of the Muslim population in the oil region of Grozny, the second in importance after Baku, and to replace them by Mujiks, devoted to the Soviet régime.

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MUSLIMS IN CHINA

According to the latest estimates the Muslims in China number about fifty million,¹ and of these at least half are concentrated in the North-West and other large provinces of the periphery Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan Mongolia, and Manchuria (Manchukuo) Large Muslim groups are also met with in the provinces of China proper, mainly in Kansu Shensi Ninghsia, Yunnan Hopeh (Peking) Szechuan and Kiangsu (Shanghai Nanking).

As to the density of population, there is a clear majority of Muslims in the exterior provinces of China, and in China proper there are 53 per cent Muslims in Shensi and Kansu, and 42 per cent in Yunnan In the dominantly Muslim regions, the atmosphere is distinctly that of an Islamic country The provinces with the least density of Muslim population are those of south-eastern China along the coast Generally speaking, the Muslim populations in China as well as their proportion in regard to the density of the population, diminish progressively from the north-west to the south east This is also indicated by the number of mosques in China which amounts to a total of about 42 375 mosques their distribution following the same curve as the density of population and thus the smallest number of mosques is found in the south east and along the coast

¹ Whitaker Almanac 1946

Islam had very early been introduced into China about the middle of the seventh century. The Arabs who were intrepid seafarers sailed their ships through the Straits between Malaya and Sumatra up the coast of Cochin-China to China proper. They established trading centres and even settlements in some of the southern cities of China, and began to teach the Islamic faith to their Chinese neighbours, and build mosques. Under the tolerant rulers of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907), Islam rapidly penetrated by land routes through the Turks of the north-west. Traders, mullas, embassies, and warriors brought Islam from Arabia, Persia, and Turkestan, and the T'ang emperors formed close ties with the caliphate to the west. Especially in the ninth century, when vast hordes of Ouigour Turks (whose great leader Seljuke had not yet been born) were summoned to the aid of the T'ang court to suppress rebellion, Islam firmly established itself in China. Following their success, many of the Ouigours were rewarded with titles and great estates and settled in the north-west and in Szechuan and Yunnan, and, as a result of these vast Turkish and Tatar settlements, the north-west possessed a greater percentage of Muslims than elsewhere in the country. Like the T'ang Dynasty, the Mongol Emperors of China were humane and preserved Chinese culture.

Over a period of centuries, the Muslims strongly resisted Chinese absorption, since, with them, religion is a deciding factor in their culture, politics, and economy. In the nineteenth century, they made two

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great bids for powers one in Yunnan, where Tu Weihsiu for a time set up an Islamic kingdom and proclaimed himself Sultan Suleiman, and the second, in 1864 when Muslims seized control of all the north-west and even invaded Hupeh. The latter rebellion was put down after a campaign lasting eleven years. Since then there have been sporadic uprisings against Chinese rule. The most serious recent rebellion occurred in 1928 when a family of Muslim generals named the Wu-Ma or 'Five Ma' acquired a great influence and power in the North-West, in the 1930's.

Theoretically, the Chinese Government considers the Hui or Muslim people one of the five great races of China—the Han (Chinese), Man (Manchu), Měng (Mongol), Hui (Muslim), and Tsang (Tibetan). But most Chinese seem to deny Muslim racial separateness, and the Chinese official attitude towards the Muslims seems to be that they are considered a 'religious minority' but not a 'national minority'. In reality, the claims of the Muslims in China to the right to nationhood are analogous to those of the Muslims of India, in both cases cultural and moral unity as well as group solidarity are put before and above racial consciousness. In both cases, the Muslim claims have a substantial basis in fact and history.

The Muslims occupy in China various positions in society, but they have a special preference for a military career and they have always supplied China with able generals and numerous and courageous

troops They retain, almost exclusively, certain professions, such as inn-keepers, horse-dealers, dealers in cattle, butchers, camel-drivers. Particularly in the west of China, they are established as farmers, labourers, artisans, small retail dealers, boatmen. Even in Honan, Nganhoy, and Kiangsu, many Muslims are met with in the country. Nevertheless, in the east, they are settled in large numbers in cities such as Nanking and Shanghai, for commerce.

In China proper, the Muslims speak Chinese, being in great majority of Chinese extraction, with the exception of some islets of Turco-Mongolian dialect in Kansu. But Arabic remains always the language of religion. Many persons know certain passages of the Quran in Arabic by heart, many can read Arabic practically, but few understand it. They like to have the Arabic inscriptions noticed, and are proud of their cleanliness and of their bathing places, adjoining the mosques. A great effort is being attempted at present to give to the Arabic language a more important place in the Muslim community. Besides Arabic, Persian and Turkish are met with particularly in the west and the south-west. Muslims have for centuries intermarried with the Chinese. Any Chinese who marries a Muslim woman must not only adopt the Islamic faith, but also be adopted into a Muslim family, with the result that the children tend to grow up regarding themselves as a community quite distinct from the Chinese.

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During the past two decades a notable intellectual stirring and an increase in the cultural activities of the Chinese Muslims have taken place. Everywhere, even among the small scattered groups in the country, the Muslims maintain and foster a lively sentiment of solidarity. Very numerous associations have of late been formed some of which are devoted to local interests others are rather more universal and pursue religious cultural social aims. Some of these may be cited: Association of Chinese Muslims for the Welfare of the Fatherland, Service Group for War-time the Society of the Pure Truth Association of Muslim Youth Sino Muslim Cultural Association Association for Muslim Progress in China. This latter organization as well as the Association for the Education of Chinese Muslims are active in founding training schools and colleges from which educated imams and preachers in the mosques graduate and they also seek to develop Islamic literature and to diffuse the Muslim press. Meetings are held to promote the translation of the meaning of the Quran into the spoken Chinese language and to diffuse tracts concerning Islam. A lively interest is displayed in general Islamic history, which is becoming more widely read. The Muslim press has developed rapidly, and there are some eighty-five journals or reviews published and widely circulated.

Great efforts have been recently made to create bilingual Muslim schools Chinese Arabic. The most important among these are the training colleges

of Peking and Shanghai, which send their Chinese graduates to Egypt to study at Al-Azhar University at Cairo and then afterwards return to China as professors. There are several secondary colleges and a great number of primary schools in different Chinese provinces, many mosques, having a school annexed to them. Arabic as well as the Quran and the principles of the Islamic religion are taught. With the object of encouraging the education of Chinese Muslims, the Chinese Government introduced courses in Arabic and Persian in the Chinese universities, in 1938.

The Muslims in China are eagerly establishing and strengthening their contact with the rest of the Islamic world. The pilgrimage to Mecca is an ambition of all, and is frequently realized by rich men and *ahuns* (imams). To them All-Islam rather than Pan-Hunism is the ideal.

Throughout the late war and in spite of foreign intrigues, the Chinese Muslims proved to be faithful patriots, representing an important element from the military point of view, giving a valuable aid in the national struggle against Japan. A Muslim general, Pe-Tchongsı, distinguished himself and became a very close military co-worker of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War.

Sinkiang or Chinese Turkestan has recently been once more in the news. This province lying along the Sino-Russian border, includes Zungaria and Chinese Tatarı, and its chief centres are Kashgar,

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Urumchi Yarkand and Khotan It is a country which, for some two thousand years, was a playground for Asiatic conquering powers Kashgar which has a predominantly Muslim population of about 100 000 occupies the largest fertile oasis in Chinese Turkestan and is an important trading centre The population of Sinkiang reflects the racial intermingling of different tribes Among these, the Kazak tribe who are largely Muslim attempted in 1914 to set up an independent state known as the East Turkestan Republic and they created their own capital at Ining Generalissimo Chiang Kai shek visited Urumche the old capital, in the autumn of 1945 and as a result of the negotiations which took place on that occasion, a compromise was reached The Kazaks accepted autonomy rather than complete separation from China and the Chinese Government put forward a programme granting constitutional reform and a large measure of self-rule within the province It is perhaps significant that the Soviet Consular authorities were reported to have assisted in bringing about the agreement and its final ratification in June 1946 Sinkiang as a whole has valuable natural resources especially oil and its future is very promising

The Islamic world today is not only united in sentiment but also in its determination for action, an action of constituting a united front of free lands, with no hostile or aggressive intentions but with the firm will to oppose any foreign invasion or interference

in what are purely Islamic affairs. It is beyond doubt that a strong and emancipated Islamic world would help to establish order and security in a vast and vital area of the globe.

CHAPTER XII

ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Among the religions of the world Islam is the one which affects international affairs most, for aside from its universality, it is at the same time a spiritual force a social and a political system and it also possesses a religious conception of nationality. The laws and social customs of Islam as we have already seen, affect the daily life, government policy and business of the Muslim peoples, and therefore hostile movements may easily be aroused if Muslims feel that the power of their religion be attacked.

This is one of the reasons for the importance of Islamic problems in international politics particularly in regard to those western Powers whose subjects include many Muslim populations. Foremost among these colonial empires are Great Britain, France and Holland. Another important reason is the lively solidarity of the Muslim peoples comparable to that of a living organism. If an organ becomes inflamed the rest of the organism readily responds with fever and restlessness. Likewise events which arouse feeling in any part of the Islamic world, have immediate repercussions in all other parts.

Again, a glance at the map of the Islamic world shows that numerous Muslim peoples live in regions

of prime strategical and geographical importance. This is true of the Mediterranean Sea from its western portals, along the entire coast of North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean basin, the shores of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, including the Middle Eastern land bridge uniting three continents. Thus, vital sea routes of communication and world trade, which go from the west to the far-east, land-routes which lead from the north to the south, as well as essential junctures in air communications, pass through the lands of Islam.

But it is also in the Middle East, the centre of the Islamic world, that the clash of imperialisms and the conflict of the essential interests and multiple influences of the world Powers are to be met with. Since France and Italy have suffered an eclipse in the Mediterranean, as an outcome of the late war, and since the Middle East has, according to recent findings, become one of the world's great oil reserves—probably the richest—the main contending Powers in that vital area today are Great Britain, the United States and Russia. Owing to territorial conflicts, rival influences, economic and strategic interests, the Middle East, that key position to world power, is becoming of paramount importance for the future of international relations.

Yet another basic fact of far-reaching influence upon world affairs is the tremendous and rapid evolution of the Islamic countries. After centuries of

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apathy and apparent immobility, the Muslim peoples are today in a state of political and social upheaval, they are regaining the lost time. The course of events, since the end of war, furnishes an ample proof of the rapid and sweeping change that is taking place in the lands of Islam. Syria and Lebanon, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, India, Turkey, Indonesia, and even the remote Chinese Turkestan in the East and Morocco in the West all have been—and many of them are still—in the prominent headlines. Their problems involve issues which stand high among the unsolved and urgent problems of the post-war world. The major events that are occurring in the Islamic world as well as the big stakes of the powers in Islamic politics, therefore, influence the developing international situation immensely. Furthermore, they determine the policy which each of the contending Powers adopts towards the Muslim peoples.

Great Britain, the largest colonial Empire of the world, considers that no factor is more essential for her status as a world Power than her strength, prestige and influence in the Middle East. Her diplomatic representations and activities in that region are today more developed and more intense than ever before in her Imperial history. But she now fully recognizes that all forms of domination by force and of colonial tutelage are bitterly opposed by the Muslims and that they must give way to a genuine partnership and co-operation between allies. Realiz-

ing that the Arabs are determined to achieve full political freedom and independence, Great Britain has adopted an attitude of general friendliness towards the Arab League, which has banded together seven Arab sovereign States. This new attitude towards the Arab world is easy to grasp at a time when Russian influence is making itself felt over all western Asia. It is in Britain's interest that the Arabs should be well-disposed towards her. The British, therefore, are making steady efforts to repair the damage done to Anglo-Arab relations in the past.

The Arab League is steadily widening the scope of its activities, prominent among which are the resistance to Zionist expansion, and the establishment of a powerful union of all the Arab States from Morocco¹ to the Persian Gulf. The League, therefore, strongly advocates the independence of Libya, of Tunisia, of Algeria, of Morocco, and, indeed, of all other Arab lands, which, upon achieving political freedom, should join the League as sovereign members. Furthermore, the League has extended its influence in the Islamic world beyond the frontiers of the Arab East, having been the first sovereign political body to recognize the independence of Indonesia².

1 The League recently requested France to set free the famous Moroccan Chief, Amir Muhammad Abdul Karim, exiled to the Island of Reunion, at the end of the Riff campaign. It also backed the Tunisian demand for the return to the throne of the exiled patriotic Monarch, Sidi Muhammad al-Munsif.

2 At the end of 1946, not long after the Cheribon agreement, the relations between the Dutch and the Indonesians were again strained. The Dutch, who wanted to retain an important economic and military control over the East Indies, brought military reinforcements to their garrisons there. This aroused serious fears among the Indonesians who considered these reinforcements a danger to the Indonesian Republic, and renewed fighting broke out between the Republican Army and the Dutch troops.

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The latest attempt by the British Government to solve the Palestine question by negotiations was the holding of a Palestine Conference which opened in London on September 10, 1946 in the presence of delegates of the seven Arab States of the Arab League. But the Conference was attended by neither Jews nor Palestinian Arabs. After several meetings of the British and the Arab delegations at which the Arabs presented a plan for the future of Palestine the Conference was adjourned until January 1947.

Meantime, the twenty second World Zionist Congress met in Basle, Switzerland, early in December, 1946 and was presided over by Dr. Weizmann. The political discussions in the Congress reaffirmed the Jewish policy on Palestine. As to the question whether Jewish representatives would take part in the resumed London Conference on Palestine or not David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive and leader of the Palestine Labour Federation—the strongest Jewish political party in Palestine—outlined the Jewish demands which the Zionists will press at any conference they attend. These are: Zionist control over immigration; the Zionist building up of the 'desolate parts of Palestine' and the creation of an "independent Judea in Palestine."

As for the Arab plan for Palestine it seeks the establishment within the next two years of an independent Palestinian State deriving its authority from a constitution which would prohibit Jewish immigration, maintain existing land transfer restric-

tions, and confine the Jews to a representation in the State Legislature of one-third of its total members. It thus represents the logical continuation of the 1939 White Paper policy.

The plan envisages the establishment, by the High Commissioner, of a Provisional Government in Palestine, consisting of seven Arabs and three Jews, to which all executive and legislative authority would be transferred. This Government would undertake the preparation of an electoral register, which would be followed by the election of a 'Constituent Assembly of 60 members. The Assembly would debate and consider the draft constitution presented to it by the Government. Both Government and Assembly, in drafting and considering the constitution, would be bound by directives issued by the High Commissioner.

With the constitution adopted, Parliamentary elections would be held, and the first Head of the State appointed. The mandate would be ended, and a treaty of alliance concluded in respect to British-Palestinian relations. The assumption of powers by the Head of the Palestine State should take place not later than December 31, 1948, during the transitional period, the High Commissioner would retain a power of veto.

During the conference, the Arabs suggested to the British delegation the holding of an international conference to discuss the world problem of Jewish refugees.

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Meanwhile, the evil story of high tension in Palestine has taken an ominous turn, owing to continuous Jewish terrorism which at the time of writing, has shown no signs of abatement. Bomb outrages and other acts of violence in Palestine continued to grow in number and brutality, perpetrated by the Irgun Zvai Leumi and Stern gangs.

On the other hand, the Palestine Arabs, under the spiritual leadership of Al-Haj Amin al Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem, who has, taken up residence at Alexandria as a political refugee,¹ have been chagrined by the fact that the Arab States were not at the moment to bring the Palestine problem before the United Nations and uneasy because of the seemingly interminable trouble in Palestine.²

1 Al Haj Amin al Husseini the guiding chief of the Arabs in Palestine fled from his country in 1937 after the Arab uprising in which he had played a great part. After a stay in Lebanon he moved to Iraq where he remained until 1941. After Rashid Ali's revolt the Mufti escaped to Persia and later to Germany via Italy. After the German collapse he surrendered to the French authorities. He featured on the Yugoslav list of war criminals on the ground that he had taken part in raising Balkan Muslim troops for incorporation in the German army but he was dropped from the list for fear of serious repercussions in the Islamic world. Though under police surveillance in a villa near Paris the Mufti was free to move about in France. In June 1946 he escaped to Egypt where he was received as a welcome guest.

2 The leaders of the Palestine Arabs who regularly confer with the Mufti planned to have their own private army as a counter to the Zionist's Haganah. The two Arab youth organizations *al Naffada* and *al Futuwwah* (founded by Jamāl al Husseini one of the Arab leaders who were allowed to return to Palestine after several years' exile in Rhodesia) were welded into one but the British authorities banned the uniforms and insigna of this combined organization.

In the background of the Palestine trouble are the clashing interests of the Big Three. Though through the years, Great Britain has been the genuine friend of the Zionists, she cannot at the present time lightly antagonize the Arab world. Her policy, therefore, has been to seek a solution in strife-torn Palestine by means of a compromise which would protect her Imperial interests and "life-lines" and be acceptable to both the Arabs and the Jews.

As for the United States, President Truman has repeatedly urged that steps should be taken, at the earliest possible moment, to admit 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine. Early in October 1946, he issued from the White House a statement regretting the adjournment of the Palestine Conference and supporting Jewish immigration to Palestine, as well as proposals of the Jewish Agency for the creation of a viable Jewish State, in control of its own immigration and economic policies in Palestine. Again, when he received on October 15, a communication from King Ibn Saud, in which the fear was expressed that the Palestine Jews might use force and violence in the carrying out of aggressive schemes against neighbouring Arab countries, President Truman replied reaffirming his belief that at least 100,000 Jews should be admitted to Palestine immediately. He rejected the contention that such action was in fact hostile to the Arab people. As for the charge that the present United States Government's attitude contradicted previous American policy, Mr Truman reminded the

King that since the end of the First World War, the people of the United States had supported the concept of a Jewish national home in Palestine

Yet there was a domestic setting for President Truman's statements. Then he insisted, in the face of Arab resentment and of British objections, that 100 000 Jews be let into Palestine at once and declared himself in support of the Zionist policy, he probably had an eye on the Zionist led vote of the American Jewry. The Palestine question, by becoming the price of a Jewish vote, could enter American politics in such a way as to influence an entire national election in the United States

As for Russia which is striving towards a progressive penetration in the Middle East, she has carefully avoided a declaration in support of Zionism, since she is in favour of the assimilation of the Jews in their countries of residence¹. She has posed as the champion of the nationalistic movements of liberation of the Middle Eastern peoples from foreign capitalist imperialisms. It is significant that the Moscow radio of late, has been developing charges and criticisms against Anglo-Saxon policy towards the Arab States in terms such as these. The British troops are still stationed in Arab territory, and the British and the Americans are seeking in various ways to determine

¹ Russia had granted the Jews the autonomous region of Birobidjan in Soviet Siberia as a substitute Zion. But Dr Chaim Weizmann President of the World Zionist Organization protested unequivocally. It is perfectly useless to offer the Jews a substitute for Palestine

the future of the Arab countries. The small Arab States are at stake. The Arabs must now choose between the 'yoke of a military and imperialistic coalition and the fight against slavery'. They have understood that they are not only concerned with Palestinian matters or with Jewish immigration. They are concerned with nothing less than a general liberation from mandates and every kind of colonization; with a withdrawal of foreign troops and the suppression of every kind of interference in their internal affairs, desirous as they are to see their countries at last independent in fact, for, otherwise, the Arab interests are doomed to be once more sacrificed in the fight which "the imperialistic Powers are carrying on with the intention of securing for themselves the domination of the Near East"

Besides, at the United Nations Assembly in New York, in November 1946, Russia demanded that Britain either grant Palestine her independence or place this territory under the trusteeship of the United Nations. The Russian delegate Novikov, in a speech before the Assembly's trusteeship committee, declared that the fate of Palestine had been "left suspended." "An attempt by the British Government to solve the question of Palestine by negotiations with the United States Government as well as with Arab and Jewish representatives apart from the United Nations, does not correspond to the principles of the Charter."

Russia also backed Syria and Lebanon in their dispute with France and Great Britain after the end of the late war. A Franco British agreement was made under which the French evacuation of the Levant was not to be completed before April 1947. But following upon Russian diplomatic intervention and support of the national demands of Syria and Lebanon, evacuation was speeded up, and it was agreed that all French units should withdraw by August 1946.

Another move in Russia's drive for influence in the Arab world was her friendly attitude towards the national aspirations of Egypt with whom she had established diplomatic relations in 1943. During the political agitation which beset Egypt at the beginning of 1946 when the Egyptians were urgent in demanding the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and the withdrawal of British troops from the country, the Soviet Ambassador at Cairo publicly expressed Russia's full sympathy with the Egyptian cause.

In her efforts at penetration and interference in Middle Eastern affairs, Soviet Russia claimed, as did the Holy Russia of the Tsars to be the protector of the Orthodox Church throughout the world. Since the war-time reconciliation of the Soviet Government and the Russian Orthodox Church headed by Patriarch Sergius of Moscow, Russia has worked out a vast scheme to reunite the Orthodox of the world under Soviet auspices. The journeys of Patriarch Alexei of Moscow to Palestine and of Metropolitan Nicolas who accompanied him, to Egypt, in 1945 established

contacts with the ecclesiastical heads of the oriental Christians. Particular interest was shown in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, to which, in theory, all other Patriarchs owe loyalty. When the newly elected Patriarch Maximos was enthroned in Istanbul in 1946, the Soviet Consul-General was present on behalf of the Soviet Ambassador. Moreover, in order to win the support of the Russian Orthodox communities in Palestine, Orthodox Archbishop Gregory of Leningrad undertook a journey to Jerusalem in December 1946. The Russian plans have been also warmly supported by the autonomous Church of Armenia, and the Armenian Patriarch in Jerusalem, Gureh II, has openly aligned himself with the Russians. Like the Russian Orthodox themselves, he is a bitter opponent of the Papacy, which is regarded as the redoubtable enemy of the Oriental Christian Churches.

Since Egypt is the strongest, the most advanced, and the decisive power among the seven States of the Arab League,¹ the outcome of the recent Anglo-Egyptian negotiations has been anxiously awaited throughout the Arab world. The Egyptians demanded the immediate withdrawal of all the British forces in Egypt and the incorporation of the Sudan into Egypt. The British understood the necessity of conciliating the legitimate aspirations of Egypt as a sovereign State with the new policy of Imperial security, which the

1 Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Yemen

international situation obliged the British Government to elaborate.

Finally after prolonged negotiations in Egypt followed in October 1916 by Anglo-Egyptian talks in London, the British plan agreed to the full evacuation of Egypt within three years. As for the relationship of Great Britain and Egypt to the Sudan, the British Government did not contemplate any change in the existing status and administration of that country. In this territory of immense strategic importance, the British had no intention of surrendering military or administrative control. British strategists seem to be reorienting to a global defence of the British Empire centred on the Indian Ocean and envisaging a military girdle around Central Africa. The Sudan would then form the northernmost link in a prospective Nigeria Kenya chain of defence.

As has been hinted in the preceding chapter, Persia is once more the scene of antagonistic foreign forces, and her unity has been seriously menaced by extraneous manoeuvres. The rival interests and the contrary influences of Russia and Great Britain have been expressed by the voices of the Northern and Southern provinces of Persia respectively. By the middle of September 1946, a general tribal uprising occurred in Southern Iran bordering the Persian Gulf. The most powerful of these tribes the Qashqai and the Bakhtiari were the prime movers in the revolt, although a number of smaller tribes in the

south were associated with them. The area involved in the revolt was the whole of the large province of Fars, which has for its capital the ancient city of Shiraz.

The movement itself was a reaction to the creation of an autonomous province of Azerbaijan in Northern Persia, under Soviet influence. Since the early months of 1946, when Azerbaijan obtained concessions from the Central Government, much has been heard from other provinces of demands for similar treatment. Thus the movement in the north provoked parallel reactions in the south, and people in Khuzistan, Fars, and Isfahan, began to clamour for similar privileges. The rebelling tribes in the south demanded autonomy for the province of Fars, the dismissal by the central Tehran Government of pro-Russian Tudeh Party ministers and the closing of the pro-Russian party headquarters in southern Persia.

In dealing with this situation, Mr Qavam es-Sultaneh, the Persian Prime Minister, preferred to come to a peaceful understanding with the southern tribes rather than quell their revolt by the force of arms. An accord was concluded, and the three Tudeh Party ministers, whom the Prime Minister had taken into his Cabinet in August 1946 to placate Russia, resigned. With them went the Labour and Propaganda Minister, Prince Firouz, who became Persia's Ambassador to Moscow. Furthermore, the province of Fars was granted an autonomy similar to that of Azerbaijan in the north. But now again the northern provinces have become the seat of fresh agitation.

When the Soviet Army evacuated Azerbaijan during the spring of 1946 an oil agreement between Russia and Persia was negotiated, giving Russia a controlling voice in the exploitation of northern Iranian oilfields. As the Iranian Majlis had at that time become functionless, Russia demanded a new Majlis to approve the oil pact, alluded to in the preceding chapter. Premier Qavam es Sultaneh agreed, but he insisted that the elections throughout Persia, including Azerbaijan, should be supervised by the Tehran Government troops in order to secure a free and impartial verdict at the polls.

But the authorities of the semi-autonomous Azerbaijan refused to permit the extension to that province of the measures designed to supervise the elections including the dispatch of Government troops to Azerbaijan, and besides, Jafar Pishevari, former 'Premier' of autonomous Azerbaijan incited the local population to 'fight to the last man in defence of their liberties'.

Confronted with such a serious dispute, the Persian Prime Minister notified the Security Council of the United Nations of his intention to dispatch troops into Azerbaijan, as into other provinces, to ensure that there was no intimidation at the elections. At the same time he informed the Security Council that the Soviet Ambassador at Tehran had disapproved this action.

Early in December 1946, before moving detachments of the Persian Army northward into Azerbaijan

the Persian Premier probably furnished satisfactory assurances to the Soviet Union of his respect both for the agreement over oil and for the system of local autonomy now enjoyed by Azerbaijan. When the advancing troops entered Azerbaijan, the dissident faction made only a token resistance before its leader, Pishevari, fled across the border into Russian Azerbaijan, and the responsible local authorities, including Dr Javid, Governor-General of Azerbaijan, welcomed the troops and acclaimed the downfall of the trouble-makers

The policy which Qavam es-Sultaneh has skillfully pursued has been guided by the primary aim of maintaining the territorial integrity of Persia and the unity of the Persian nation, by means of a neutralization of the rival foreign actions. Yet, under the heavy impact of opposing forces, and owing to the lack of sufficient central power and authority, Persia is still in a state of unstable equilibrium which, as things stand at the moment, is hard to maintain.

Another illustration of the sharp divergence between the interests of the world Powers in an Islamic country is provided by the problem of "the Straits," by which is meant the passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. This historic problem is of vital importance for Turkey and an international issue as well. The old Russian drive for an outlet to the warm seas has been pursued by the Soviets as one of the permanent ambitions of Russian foreign policy

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After the first world war, the new "anti-imperialist" Soviet Russia concluded a treaty with Turkey in March 1921, which decided that the future of Transcaucasia except Kars—which the Turks kept—should lie with Moscow. And this same peace treaty laid the grounds for entirely new relations between the Turkey of Mustapha Kemal and the Soviet Russia of Lenin who had always denounced the aggressive designs of Tsarist imperialism and preached the liberation of Asiatic peoples from the thrall of the West. The Treaty of Lausanne, concluded between Turkey and the Western Powers left the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to Turkey, but demilitarized them under international supervision.

At the Montreux Convention of 1936, signed by nine countries including Russia the International Straits Commission, set up under the Treaty of Lausanne was abolished and Turkey was permitted to remilitarize the Straits. With her sovereignty over the Straits restored Turkey has been, since 1936, the sole guardian of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. But Russia, persistently demanding an unhampered outlet into the Mediterranean, viewed with dissatisfaction the régime of the Straits as covered by the Montreux Convention. However, the Russo-Turkish friendship, which was the purpose of the 1921 treaty may be said to have lasted until 1939.

Whereas Britain, Turkey's most dangerous enemy between 1914 and 1923 has become her ally and supporter in 1939-1946. In the Second World War,

in which Turkey was neutral, the Soviet Government reverted to the traditional hostile policy of Tsarist Russia, in regard to Turkey. Since 1940, the Soviets have been encouraging Armenian nationalism and the ancient plan of a Greater Armenia, claiming the annexation of an adjoining Turkish region. Later, the Soviet Government laid an official claim to the Turkish regions of Kars and Ardahan.

Tension in Turco-Russian relations became marked since the U S S R denounced in 1945 the treaty of friendship between the two countries, and subsequent Russian suggestions for its renewal, which included a demand for a rectification of the Eastern frontier of Turkey in favour of Russia. The "liberation" of small nationalities has been the ideological foundation behind Russia's drive into the Middle East. Thus the creation of an autonomous province of Azerbaijan in Northern Persia, the claims for the annexation of the Kars and Ardahan regions, the demands for the annexation of a Turkish territory along the Black Sea to Soviet Georgia, and the sponsoring of the creation of an autonomous "Kurd Republic,"¹ whose main territory would be located in

present day Turkey and Iraq, are all features of the same political picture the promotion of Russian expansion into the Arab world, the encirclement and isolation of Turkey, and the consolidation of Russia's position as a Mediterranean power. When the Soviet Turkish conflict became acute in 1946 Turkey became the object of lively attacks in the Soviet press and on Moscow radio. Besides Russian claims to Turkish areas on the borders of Transcaucasia and criticisms as regards Turkish behaviour during the late war forthright demands were advanced for the revision of the Montreux Convention. In two successive Notes to Turkey, the Soviet Government demanded a new treaty, making the Straits the exclusive concern of the four countries on the Black Sea—Turkey, Russia and Russia's satellites, Bulgaria and Rumania. Russia, furthermore, asked to share with Turkey the defence of the Dardanelles. In the Turkish reply to the two Soviet Notes—in August and in October 1946—Turkey rejected the Soviet demands but expressed itself willing to attend a conference with Soviet Russia, the United States, Britain and France, together with other signatories—excluding Japan—to secure a revision of the Montreux Convention. But she refused to enter into direct negotiations with the Black Sea Powers on the matter. To do so would mean not only to overlook the international nature of the Straits issue, but also that Turkey sit down at a conference table alone with the Soviets, since Rumania and Bulgaria, still occupied

by Russia, would only serve as an echo to the Soviets. The Soviet proposal for joint Soviet-Turkish defence of the Straits was rejected as violating Turkish sovereignty and territorial integrity. Turkey declared that she would resist by force of arms any attempt by Russia or any other Power to establish itself on the Dardanelles. Confronted with the Soviet demands, Turkey was convinced that the military preparedness of the nation could not be relaxed, as long as the crisis was not solved. The Turkish forces were maintained, therefore, in a state of semi-mobilization, which together with other onerous measures of precaution constituted a heavy strain, which the Turkish people preferred to an abandonment of their independence, and a mutilation of their territory.

In her attitude in regard to the Straits issue, Turkey was entirely supported by the United States and Great Britain, whose Governments expressed their views officially on the matter in Notes to Moscow. In his speech at the opening of the Turkish National Assembly in October 1946, M. Ismet İnönü, the Turkish President, was, therefore, justified in announcing that the friendship and alliance with Britain was gaining in strength and vitality, and that the bonds of friendship with the United States were constantly becoming closer. On the other hand, he was obliged to assert that the relations with Soviet Russia could be improved.

In fact, the Straits issue is bound up with power politics and with the interests of the world Powers

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in the Mediterranean. It is also closely related to the various Middle Eastern tangles in which these Powers are concerned. The interests of the victorious Powers are being focussed upon the political and economic affairs in that vital region, including the Suez Canal, the air routes between Europe and Asia and the oilfields of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Persia. Indeed, the entire Middle East is a testing ground of the relations between the three world Powers.

The share the United States have assumed in Middle Eastern affairs, since the end of the Second World War, has exceeded by far that of pre-war times. American interests in the Middle East as a whole apart from regular trade relations, have in the past been mainly cultural and philanthropic. American educational institutions such as Robert College at Istanbul and the American University at Beirut, have long existed in the Levant. Besides American schools and hospitals scattered throughout the Middle East, American archaeologists and anthropologists made valuable contributions to our knowledge of many parts of the Middle East. American financial advisers were repeatedly employed by some countries such as Iran.

Besides long-standing commercial contacts there was also an American interest in Middle Eastern oil. In 1919 and 1920, American interests secured a quarter-interests in the Mosul field which was till then, an Anglo-French 'monopoly'. Moreover at the close of the First World War the United States

appeared to be the Great Power most apt to give Turkey, then militarily vanquished and economically exhausted, an effective and disinterested aid. By reason of its very distance, the United States was not suspected of annexonist plans or political aims in regard to the territories of the ancient Ottoman Empire. Even a "mandate" of America over Turkey was proposed at that time, an offer which the United States had the wisdom to decline. And in the hours of national distress, when the Turkish national army was fighting under Mustapha Kamal for the liberation of Turkey, influential Americans showed a lively sympathy towards the Turkish nation. The Turks kept a grateful remembrance of Admiral Bristol, then High Commissioner of the United States, who applied himself with all his active authority to support the first steps of the new Turkish State upon the path to complete independence.

The Second World War opened a new phase in American interests in the Middle East. In the course of the war, the United States took an important share in the military and economic equipment of Turkey. The American also entered the Middle East Supply Centre, which, from May 1942, became a joint Anglo-American agency for dealing with most of the economic problems raised by the war throughout the Middle East.

Then in February 1944, Mr. Ickes announced that the end of the war would see a shortage in American oil reserves. He had therefore set up for

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the United States Government a Petroleum Reserves Corporation and this body had negotiated an agreement with the two big companies controlling the American concessions in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian areas, the Arabian American Oil Company (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company) and the Gulf Exploration Company (a subsidiary of the Gulf Oil Corporation) Under this agreement, the United States Government would construct a pipe-line from the Persian Gulf area to the Mediterranean

Americans growing interest in Middle Eastern affairs has also been manifested in a variety of fields American diplomatic representation has been extended lately to almost all the countries of that region particularly those in the Arab world Military missions were sent to Arab countries such as that of General Royce to Saudi Arabia—which covered petroleum extraction, communications and public health—and a similar mission (one) to Yemen American financial influence has been developed in many Arab countries and a loan of ten million dollars to Saudi Arabia was recently made by the Export Import Bank Moreover, the American oil companies are bringing about the emergence of modern towns modern transport, and irrigation projects to many parts of Arabia The United States have also developed considerably their air communications with the entire Middle East

An important factor which goes to make American prestige stand high in the East is that the United States are not suspected of imperialist aims or the acquisition of "spheres of influence." Never was a foreign nation the object of such a manifestation of enthusiastic sympathy as that which took place in honour of the United States at the Turkish National Assembly on May 8, 1946. The generous attitude of the Washington Government in regard to the settlement of the Turkish debt on account of the land-lease arrangement, afforded an opportunity to the Turkish Prime Minister, M. Sarajoglu, to pay a tribute to America and to the memory of President Roosevelt. All the Turkish deputies joined the Premier in this manifestation. A month earlier, the warm welcome which the Turks gave to the officers and crew of the *Missouri*¹ and of the cruiser *Providence*, furnished a proof of the genuine sentiments of friendship, nourished by the Turkish nation towards America.

Since September 1946, the United States have been building up naval strength in the Mediterranean, and actively bolstering Turkey's resistance to

1. The United States battleship *Missouri*, which the terms of the Japanese surrender were signed, left New York on March 21, 1946, en route to Istanbul, carrying on board the remains of the late Turkish Ambassador, Mehmet Munir Ertegun, which had lain in America since his death in 1944. The 45,000-ton battleship's voyage aroused speculation, as it was made at a time of mounting international tension, but a spokesman of the U S Navy department made it clear that there were no political implications.

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Soviet demands for bases on the Dardanelles But America has a vital stake of her own in the Middle Eastern politics—the protection of her 400 000 square mile oil concession in Arabia

In 1944 Mr Ickes made proposals that the American Government should itself undertake the construction of a pipe-line connecting the Arabian oilfields with the Mediterranean It has become clear that the centre of gravity of the world petroleum industry, is shifting towards the Middle East with a pipe line connection to the Mediterranean Middle East, oil could be marketed in Europe at a lower price than American oil In December 1946, an oil agreement was concluded between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (in which the British Government has a large interest as the principal shareholder stockholder) and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey Thus an important development was marked both in the consolidation of American activity in the Middle East and in the conjunction of American and British intersets The agreement involves the more effective use of oil resources, in the Middle East British interests own petroleum concessions in Southern Iran, Iraq, Qatar, Kuwait, and Egypt The United States have holdings in Saudi Arabia, Bahrein Iraq, Qatar Kuwait and Egypt Russia, the latest arrival recently acquired important oil concessions in Northern Iran, subject to ratification by the Iranian Parliament

Since the Middle East is to the British their oil reservoir and the centre of their communications with the Far East, they have been desirous of co-ordinating their policy with that of the United States, especially with the aim of erecting a solid barrier to Soviet penetration in the Middle East. In view of the social awakening of the Muslim countries and of the propaganda which is carried on by agents of the Soviets, in favour of the Soviet economic system, among the poverty-stricken masses of the Middle East, both the United States and Great Britain are becoming aware of the urgent necessity of aiding in the economic and social development and in the uplift of the whole level of life among the peoples of the Middle East. Already the building of new pipe-lines, the construction of more refineries, the emergence of an urban proletariat in the new "oil towns", the development of harbour facilities, and the growing oil industry generally is affecting employment, immigration, living standards and social services throughout the Arab East.

Further to the East, in unsettled India, another move in the complicated game of power politics is to be seen, though in a much less spectacular form than in the Middle East. The formation of the Interim Government, under Pandit Nehru, indicated that the British were willing to make large political concessions to India, in order to check Soviet influence and to strengthen their own position in Southern Asia. The Communist element in India has been intensifying its

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activities since 1942, and to antagonize it has been a lively concern for the British

According to the British plan, the constitution of an Interim Government of fourteen Indians, was the first phase in the process of the emancipation of India. The second phase should be the elaboration of the Constitution by means of the Constituent Assembly, for an independent India free to remain within the British Commonwealth as a dominion or to break away from it.

The Interim Government constituted a diplomatic success for Britain which, thanks to well-timed concessions, has assured the Southern Asiatic front of her empire against the revolutionary forces, excluded from the Indian Cabinet. Pandit Nehru however, made a broadcast in which he said that India and Soviet Russia were both Asiatic countries, and thus had much in common, with the double aim of coercing the British and persuading the Russians to support the Hindus and not to sympathize with the political aspirations of the Muslims of India. Moreover, he sent a representative to visit M. Molotov, Russia's Foreign Minister, during the Paris Conference, and convey the Interim Government's greeting. An exchange of diplomatic representatives between Russia and India was also considered.

Although the Interim Government was reconstituted on October 26, 1946 after the Muslim League had agreed to appoint five representatives to it, including Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan the Secretary-

General of the Muslim League, conditions in India showed no improvement. When Pandit Nehru, the vice-President of the Interim Cabinet, paid an ill-timed and hazardous visit to the North-West Frontier Province in October, he was received by a hostile population and his car was stoned. As for communal tension, it continued to beset the country and the position had been made worse by the outbreak of violence on a large scale in many provinces. Following upon the clashes in Calcutta, where Muslims suffered most in the casualties, had come outbreaks in Eastern Bengal during October, the Hindus forming the majority of the victims. Shortly afterwards, very serious rioting broke out in Bihar and spread to the United Provinces. In Bihar almost all the casualties were Muslims including many women and children, with over 10,000 deaths.

These tragic occurrences resulting in many thousands of casualties clearly indicated that the setting up of a predominantly Hindu Government had in no way contributed to bringing about peace in India. The new Cabinet was not a coalition, but rather an uneasy partnership of Congress and League representatives. Although the Congress leaders understood that it would be impossible for them to govern India alone, without the participation of the Muslim League, they continued to repudiate the Muslim demand for Pakistan. The Muslim League agreed to join the provisional Government, not on the basis of a coalition but rather to watch over the strict observ-

ance and fulfilment of the guarantees promised to the Muslims and to other communities Mr Jinnah had the foresight to stay outside the Cabinet and the clamour for Pakistan continued more than ever before.

Meantime, at the Meerut session of Congress, held during November, Pandit Nehru defined the aim of the Congress Party as the setting up of independent Indian republic, and the statements of the Congress leaders indicated the intention of the Hindu community to compel the British to hand over power to it alone leaving it to deal with the other communities as it chooses. This intention was further confirmed by the partisan interpretation which the Congress gave to the British Cabinet Mission's plan of May 16, with regard to the groupings of India's provinces within the Constituent Assembly which is to frame a Constitution. Consequently, Mr Jinnah announced on November 21, that no representative of the Muslim League will attend the Constituent Assembly called for December 9 1946.

In an effort to solve the deadlock the British Government invited the representatives of the Congress the Muslim League and the Sikhs to come with the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, to London to discuss their differences with the purpose of reaching an agreement on the basis of which the work of the Constituent Assembly could proceed with the participation of all parties. Accompanied by the Viceroy Pandit Nehru Mr Jinnah, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar

Baldev Singh, Sikh leader, arrived in London on December 3, and for four arduous days, had conversations with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, and Mr. A. V. Alexander. No final agreement was reached between the representatives of Congress and the Muslim League, and thus the London parleys failed.

The main difficulty that arose had been over the interpretation of those clauses of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, relating to the meetings in sections. The British Government recognized Mr. Jinnah's legal stand on the question of the provincial groupings with the Constituent Assembly. This related to the provinces which cover the areas in the North-West and the North-East which the Muslims have always wished to erect into their independent Islamic State of Pakistan. The 'groupings' of the provinces in these areas offer the Muslims the first instalment of Pakistan. Pandit Nehru obstinately denied this legal stand, and, on December 7, flew back with Baldev Singh to India, where he found his Hindu co-worker, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, threatening to resist the Muslim demand for Pakistan with the Hindu 'sword'.

The Constituent Assembly opened on December 9, without the participation of the Muslim League, whose seventy-five seats were vacant. Meantime, the British position was defined in an official statement, issued from 10 Downing Street: "Should a

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Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population (i.e., the Muslims) had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not of course contemplate forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country

Before leaving London on December 15 on his journey back with Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr Jinnah endeavoured to make the British Government understand and realize the gravity of the situation in India .

As already emphasized, the vital issue is Pakistan and no real understanding between the two major communities is possible on any basis which does not recognize this separate independent State for the Muslims of India

Speaking at a lecture, which he delivered in Geneva in July 1946 Mr Amery, former British Secretary of State for India, said to his international audience ' The Congress Party has always called and considered itself representative of the whole of India Now in reality it is only a Hindu party and Mr Jinnah has shown that only two per cent of the Muslim candidates adhered to the Congress Party There are two cultures in India Hinduism which is a rigid caste system and which makes of the Hindu religion the smallest and most exclusive aristocratic societies in the world On the other hand and opposed to it Islam a strictly monotheistic religion,

is essentially democratic, and the Muslims possess a remarkable social equality. The Hindus consider the Muslims intruders, foreigners, although four-fifths of the Muslims of India are descendants of Hindus who adhered to Islam in consequence of the Islamic conquest of India. Islam has converted almost one quarter of the population of India. From the point of view of their religion, the Muslims despise the multiplicity of divinities, acknowledged by the Hindus. This contrast is one of the reasons which oblige England to act in India with care and circumspection. She has not the right to abandon the Muslim minority to Hindu tender mercies."

Commenting on the Hindu-Muslim relations, Sir Evelyn Wrench wrote in *Strand Magazine*, April 1946 : "Each group has an entirely different outlook on life and that is the crux of the great Indian problem ...Mr Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, is largely responsible for the growth of Muslim India's demand for national status...The Muslim community refused to give us the stab in the back (when the Japanese were at the very gates of India) That ought not to be forgotten.. Jinnah is austere and courageous, nothing can deflect him from his purpose, which is to give nationhood to Muslim India...Nothing could move him not the assassin's knife, the vilification of the Hindu-owned press, or the sarcasm of his opponents. At one of our last meetings he said, 'Pakistan is no longer an idea. It is a fact.'"

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In fact the cause of India is analogous to the medical case of dactylic or webbed fingers. Such a state impedes the harmonious and free use of the entire hand afflicted with this abnormal union. The treatment involves the surgical separation of the two webbed fingers. In like manner, the Hindu digit and the Muslim digit of India have been artificially and disadvantageously webbed into the Interim Government as well as into the proposed Indian Union. The only successful means for securing the freedom of both the Hindu and the Muslim digits and consequently, of the entire hand of India, is the Pakistan operation of radical separation. Thus and only thus, will the hand of India be free to move and write a new and glorious chapter in her history.

Whereas Britain's colonial policy is based upon varying degrees of independence, French policy, hitherto, has taken the reverse course of assimilation which has proved a complete failure. But the Second World War brought a change in the policy of France, the world's second colonial empire, towards the peoples of her overseas territories. The revised French policy aimed at a political and economic integration of all parts of the French Empire into a federal system with a view to binding these territories more closely to France.

After the liberation of France, the French parties began to study proposals to create a federal French Union. As a first measure it was decided that with Metropolitan France sending 580 deputies to the

Paris Chamber, Algeria and the rest of the Empire should send 78 deputies. As to the citizenship problem, the natives of the empire should be granted citizenship of the Union and not of France. As for parliamentary representation, it was decided not to grant the natives a representation which would be proportional to their number

The plan for the *Union Française* had been under discussion before the last Constituent Assembly at Paris. Although Algeria sent deputies to the Paris Assembly, in terms of parliamentary power, this was only a token participation, for the colonial deputies formed but a very small minority and their influence was of no practical value.¹ But the leading nationalist parties of North Africa the Manifesto Party and the Popular Party of Algeria, the Istiklal (Independence) Party of Morocco, and the Destour (Constitution) Party of Tunisia demand an Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian citizenship and sovereignty, and then only alliance with France

1 Recent utterances by representatives of important French parties concerning Algeria seem to indicate a doubtful evolution of French colonial policy. Thus, M Viard, a deputy belonging to the M R P (Republican Popular Movement, under strong Catholic influence), defined the position of his party, at the Paris Assembly, in September 1946, as "a formal condemnation of anything which would resemble, from near or from afar, to an Algerian autonomy. Algeria is recognized a French land by authentic and indisputable texts". And, in December 1946, M. Leon Blum, French Premier and veteran Socialist leader, said before the French National Assembly "It is our duty to take up loyally the interrupted negotiations with a *free Algeria*, in the frame of the *French Algerian Union*". But it may be reasonably asked. How can these terms be reconcilable, since the French Union is meant to bind Algeria as well as other territories of the French Empire indissolubly to France?

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The French Union seems to be very difficult to realize. There is a somewhat tragic irony in the effort of a disunited France at home to establish a French Union overseas. Since her defeat in 1940, France has suffered a sharp decline in prestige in North Africa and the aspect of internecine party strife in Metropolitan France since the liberation along with high-handedness of the French administration overseas, have still accentuated the loss of French prestige. As it is obvious now, an invalid France is desperately seeking to reinforce her feeble post war position by supporting herself upon the colonial peoples which she has been curbing under a heavy yoke for over a century.

Among the peoples of North Africa, the prestige of the Anglo-Saxon Powers, particularly America, stands on the contrary quite high, the more so since these Powers recognized much more readily than the French, the help given by Moroccan and Algerian armies which materially assisted in the defeat of the enemy in Italy, France and Germany, during the late war. America in particular has sympathized with the national aspirations and the just grievances of the natives who suffer badly from the lack of education, health services, and social justice under French rule.

There is a mass of evidence that the peoples of North Africa including those of Libya aim at shaking off foreign domination and they pin their hopes on

the Arab League of which they know the keen desire to help them in their struggle to achieve nationhood and freedom in their homelands. The bonds between the Arab peoples of the Near East and of North Africa, including the Sudan, have, of late, been considerably strengthened. It is becoming every day more and more possible for them to get into touch at any time to confer about their common interests and to agree on joint resolutions. The same tendency is visible throughout the Islamic world, of which the component peoples are reaffirming their common links. But in the present state of ardent struggles and swift changes in the East, there is bound to be a lengthy period of unrest before the countries of Islam have found a new equilibrium.

What conclusion can be drawn from all this? One that is important above all the rest is that Islam is today a very potent factor in international affairs. It is in the interest of all powers that there should be internal stability in the Islamic world. But the developing situation in that vast world from Morocco to Indonesia clearly indicates that such a stability is only possible through political freedom; great economic and social programmes are not enough. Again, foreign rivalries and competitive diplomatic, economic and political struggles, in which the great Powers are lively engaged, can only serve to arrest the protracted process of stabilization.

What Islam lacks at the present time in political power is being compensated by its spiritual force and

its moral solidarity In every quarter of the Muslim world efforts at strengthening the internal cohesion of Islam are being pursued with increasing vigour

CHAPTER XIII

ISLAM IN THE WORLD

Islam, at our present times, comprises some four hundred million of the human race all bound together by a common faith and a common ideal. The non Muslim peoples have to deal and live with this vast conglomeration of communities, of many races and tongues, which range in civilization from the primitive simplicity of the Bedouin's tent and the shepherd's hut to the mechanical elaborations of this highly industrial age. The world itself has shrunk so much that it will henceforth be impossible as formerly to treat the Islamic countries as something remote and not vitally affecting the rest of the world. The rapid means of communication and of transportation have brought the human races together and the effects of the steamship, the railway, the aeroplane, the wireless, and the yet unimaginable prospects of atomic energy, have been so cumulative that it may be said that humanity has reached a very definite parting of the ways.

In order to promote and maintain fruitful co-operation between the peoples of the earth all barriers of prejudice, caused by ignorance or misconceptions, should be suppressed. A fundamental knowledge of one another is therefore essential. It is for

this reason that I am making a plea for a better understanding of Islam and a clearer conception of its problems among the non-Muslim peoples. For, unfortunately, there still exists in the West an abundant ignorance of Islam. It is usually thought of by the average Western mind as being merely a religion which "encourages" polygamy and the so-called 'harems'; that it constitutes an obstacle to progress; and that the Muslims are characterized by a fatalism which is responsible for apathy and inaction, because "all is written *maktoob*." Such, at least, is the popular opinion of the 'men in the street' in the West. But nothing is further from the truth.

As we have already seen in previous chapters of this book, Islam is not only a religion; it is also a comprehensive order of society and a civilization. As a religion, Islam is not exclusive, but includes all divine revelations in its own self, so that, in a way, Islam and true religion are equivalent terms. With Islam, as revealed to Muhammad, true religion attained its perfect and ever-lasting form. As to other divine messages which preceded Islam, they are believed to have served the needs of the different epochs and peoples since the beginning of creation.

The Law of Islam is as universalistic as its faith in One, the Only One, Universal God. As a result, a characteristic originality of Islam is that it makes unity and universality the essence of its creed, its doctrine, and its entire system.

Being opposed to totalitarianism or absolutism in every field, the Islamic system provides for a dynamic balancing of opposite forces. Liberty and authority, temporal and spiritual powers, conservatism and liberalism, individual and social interests, action and contemplation, are not only reconciled but are harmoniously combined within a single whole. Moreover the precepts of the Qur'an are a potent stimulus to scientific study and science thus becomes an ally of religion.

The Muslim creed is focussed upon the belief in the Unity of God and that Muhammad was the last messenger of God to the whole of mankind. Islam preaches that God is accessible to all. He requires no intercessors. Because of the absence of a clergy and of any ecclesiastical organization, the feeling of responsibility rests upon the individual believers.

The religious ideal of Islam is the extension of the faith in the Unity of God over the entire earth. Yet the Quran enjoins tolerance towards the peoples of other religions. 'Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from Error'.¹

Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching, and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious.²

Muslim society is extraordinarily God conscious, and a godless society is unthinkable in the lands of

¹ S. II 256

² S. XVI 125

Islam. For a Muslim, man's best action is to please God. Islam stands pre-eminently for social equality. "The Believers are but a single Brotherhood"¹ is the injunction of the Quran, which also lays down the doctrine of the unity of mankind: "O mankind! We created you from a single (paṭi) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of God is (he who is) the most righteous of you. And God has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things)"² Islam, by insuring mental and moral freedom and respect for the human personality, fosters the growth of men's minds

The conception of Muslim brotherhood has drawn all followers of Islam together as a great family in a very real sense. Caste, colour, and class prejudice are entirely absent and, consequently, two Muslims from two different countries arrive at a mutual understanding in every respect quicker than two members of any other international association. A Muslim, whether he comes from Morocco or Yugoslavia, from Java or China, or even from the New World, is, to another Muslim, a brother, one to whom hospitality and asylum must be offered. This outstanding feature in Muslim sociology exerts a powerful attraction, for the new convert, from whatever race or caste or class, obtains through Islam civil

1 S XLIX 10

2. Ibid, 13.

recognition and full consciousness of human dignity. Thus Islam prepares men to be good citizens, and keeps man in a right relationship with his fellow men. In the Muslim world, in practice, neither birth nor colour has prevented men from reaching the highest position. Islam offers a chance to all races and all of them have availed themselves of it in the measure of their talents.

Muslim society is continually permeated by the influence of religion which extends to all fields of human conduct. In so far as the Muslim is bound to obey the Laws of God as laid down in the Quran and which regulate every conceivable action of man, there is no room in Muslim society for pretence or hypocrisy. A lively sense of solidarity is characteristic of Muslim communities throughout the world. 'No man is a true believer unless he desires for his brother believer that which he desires for himself' is a saying of the Prophet. Emphasis is laid upon charity, generosity and benevolence, and they are widely practised.

Islam has improved the condition of women greatly. They have equal rights with men, and they keep their own individuality. Nothing could be more ludicrous than the allegation in some Western quarters that in Muslim lands woman is considered 'to have no soul'. A Muslim king or prince may marry the poorest woman from among the common people or vice versa. Marriage of a Muslim man with a woman belonging to one of the other revealed reli-

gions, Christianity and Judaism, is permitted, complete freedom being guaranteed to the wife to practise the rites of her own religion.

Islam can rightly point out to a record of toleration which is not found to the same extent in other religions. Even at the present day, in overwhelmingly Muslim countries, such as Egypt, the Levant States, Indonesia and Albania, the number of Christians who hold important offices and 'key-positions' in the State, including ministers, ambassadors, high officials, is very much out of proportion to the numerical importance of the Christian minorities in these lands. On the contrary, in countries with an important Muslim minority, we vainly look to find anything like an equitable measure of toleration. Such is the case, for example, in Abyssinia, in Bulgaria, in Yugoslavia, in China and in Soviet Russia. In this latter country, where almost one-sixth of the total population is Muslim, there is not a single Muslim minister, or ambassador, or high official of any importance.

Never is the Muslim permitted to forget God and religion. God is everywhere. Omnipotent, and one must pray to Him five times daily. In little rooms in a European capital as well as in the heart of Afghanistan or Mongolia, in ramshackle tenements on the east side of New York as well as in the huts of rubber-coolies in Malaya or in the small dwellings of the Sulu sailors in the Philippines, this daily ritual is never forgotten. When the muezzin climbs the minaret of the mosque and loudly and solemnly calls

the faithful to ritual prayer black men in the heart of Africa yellow men in the jungles of Siam brown men in the rice fields of India sunburnt fellaheen in the Nile Valley, and white men in the Balkans turn their faces in the direction of Mecca the birthplace of Islam and the spiritual centre of the Muslim world They raise their hands in a gesture of adoration and harmoniously murmur no matter how different their countless mother-tongues may be, the same *shahāda* (profession of Faith) "*La ilāha illa Allah Muhammad ar Rasūl Allah*," (There is no god but God, Muhammad is the Apostle of God) They utter the words of the Quran, go down on their knees and bow their heads to the ground—to God The Quran may not be 'the best seller' in the world but there is no doubt that it is piously and entirely learnt by heart by far more people than any other book, religious or non religious in the world The social ideal of Islam is the universal Muslim brotherhood, a God-worshipping community

Muslim ethics draw their inspiration from the Quran and the teachings of the Prophet Human ethics and man-made laws have never provided any satisfactory substitute for God's Law, as the authority to which the conscience should bow, irrespective of the consequences to its own material comfort Trust in God and do the right is the Quranic injunction A Muslim's life may be austere but is not ascetic, for a Muslim is encouraged to take his lawful share in the goods of this world, although he is bound to

prefer the world to come. Stress is laid on the ennobling ideal of service and leads a Muslim to seek the welfare of the community in the co-operative rather than in the competitive spirit. Great credit is his who donates generously to philanthropic enterprises. The *wadfs*, in Islam, are philanthropic endowments, built up in the course of centuries as a result of innumerable individual gifts and bequests.

The Quran enjoins absolute prohibition of intoxicating drinks, and Muslims have always stood as uncompromising prohibitionists; and this constitutes a great force in the morals of Islam. Marriage is sanctioned by religion, and the family bond is consolidated. The family and not the individual is accepted, in Islam, as the normal unit of social progress.

Islamic Law strictly prohibits interest and usury, as well as all sorts of speculations. According to the Islamic doctrine, interest, far from resulting in any national good, is positively detrimental to the general prosperity of the community and antagonistic to the moral purpose of economic life, which is social justice. On the other hand, the law of Islam allows and encourages the pursuit of trade and commerce, and it must not be forgotten, in this respect, that Muslims demonstrated to the world the true status of trade. Muslim Law also permits profits from investments and partnerships on the condition that risks are also equally shared. Islam sanctions the system of private property, but condemns hoarding. Alms-

giving is highly recommended, but it is optional and inspired by the ideal of charity. On the other hand the Islamic institution of *zakāt* is obligatory and inspired by the ideal of solidarity, it represents an income-tax on revenue destined mainly to the relief of misery and the works of public assistance. By its moderate rate of 2½ per cent, *zakāt* avoids weighing heavily on the tax-prayer.

The political system of Islam has as its basic philosophy, the conception that humanity cannot escape Divine Law and God's commands. The mission of the Islamic State is therefore to link man and the world to God. The Quran calls the peoples of other religions to meet Islam upon the highest level. The universal acceptance of belief in the absolute Unity of God. "Say 'O Peoples of the Book! (this refers generally to Christians and Jews) come to common terms as between us and you. That we worship none but God, that we associate no equals with Him, that we erect not, from among ourselves lords and patrons other than God. If then they turn back say ye 'Bear witness that we (at least) are Muslims (bowing to God's will)'. The political ideal of Islam is a World State, self-surrendering to God's will and enforcing God's Law.

From the psychological point of view, the Muslim is a reflective person. The will to believe with conviction (*imān*) and the readiness with which a

history is religious and, as a result, the Muslim sees Islam running parallel with eternity. Indubitably, Islam always remains true to itself.

From the point of view of world peace, Islam condemns the spirit of aggression and upholds the principle of peaceful settlement. "If two parties among the Believers fall into a quarrel make ye peace between them but if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other then fight ye (all) against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of God, but if it complies then make peace between them with justice, and be fair. For God loveth those who are fair (and just)." ¹

The essential aspects of Islam, as outlined above have been widely misunderstood and misrepresented in the West. For thirteen centuries the West has heard the most prejudiced and taught the most biased history against Islam and the Muslims. Hatred, intensified by the Crusades, has been fanned by the Church among the Europeans, whose children grew up with this feeling of mistrust and prejudice against the Muslims. Malevolent writers and publicists abused and calumniated Islam and the Prophet Muhammad and much maligned the Muslim peoples with the spoken and the written word. Humanity's debt to Islam was belittled or deliberately ignored. False notions were propagated in Europe as a pretext for the imperialistic assault and subjection of the Islamic world. A regrettable state of mind arose from the

representation, in Europe, of the Muslim as a ruthless warrior and a destructive invader, bent on massacring the infidel, and that a crusading spirit should be waged against him, represented by the antagonism of Cross and Crescent

Yet, as a matter of fact, Islam, as a religion, has nothing corresponding to the Christian Cross. One of the commonest errors in the West is the supposition that the Crescent is an Islamic symbol, it certainly is not.

While Muslims are bound by their religion to honour Christ, as an Apostle of God, Occidentals abused Muhammad! I dare say that, had the Christians acknowledged and revered Muhammad as much as Muslims do acknowledge and revere Jesus Christ, the Crusades would have never taken place and humanity would have enjoyed many centuries of peace

Despite the incontestable fact that Muslims are an unconvertible being wholly impervious to the missionary's arguments armies of Christian missionaries set out with the Cross in their hands to implant it in "the nerve centres of Islam", using sometimes offensive methods in their evangelizing effort. There is, in addition, the ingrained and lingering assumption, in the West, that Occidental civilization and standards are superior to all others.

However, we may, as well, acknowledge that fortunately, the West is gradually getting to know Islam better and to cast off dark rancours and prejudices bred by history and ignorance Thanks to

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the works of a galaxy of eminent Western scholars, who are free from an anti-Islamic bias, many fallacies are beginning to be dissipated misconceptions eradicated, and the great contribution of Islam to world civilization acknowledged

We wish to see a saner a less self-superior or Western approach to the problems of Islam Western universities could surely organize refreshing courses about Islamic history and culture intended to instil into the mind of the average Occidental a deeper and sympathetic understanding of Islam and the Muslims

A look round the globe of today will show the shrewd observer that the world's peoples are crystalizing into three large and dynamic units These units are, in the middle, Islam, to the East the Soviet Russian world, to the West, the Anglo-Saxon world The Soviet Union and the United States are in a period of growth, Islam is in a period of rebirth Each of these three dynamic and expanding units holds an important place in the world Soviet Russia, with her immense population and resources highly and efficiently industrialized, with her energy and her faith in regimentation and socialization, has a militant idealism for spreading Marxian Communism over the world The Anglo Saxon nations, with their mighty political, military and industrial power with their desire to see democracy established throughout the world Islam, with its great moral solidarity and its psychological yearning for rallying

the world around the banner of Faith in the Unity of God, the God of mankind and of all the universes

These three dynamic units are today sharing the minds and souls of mankind. In their attempt to achieve their goal, Soviet Russia sees her best ally in world revolution; the Anglo-Saxon nations resort to their moral prestige and political power; Islam relies upon time.

All the three units are collectivities of numberless nationalities. In America these races are intermingled sharing the same towns, moving towards a *common nationality*. The peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics speak sixty different languages and have nearly as many religious creeds. The Soviet rulers have allowed these different peoples to grow up, each with their own language and even dialects, but with a *common political tradition*. The Muslim peoples speak countless languages and dialects, intermingle socially and racially, but they share a *common Faith*.

Two inhabitants of the U. S. may differ in racial origin, provided they possess *American* citizenship, and two inhabitants of the British Empire may differ in their political and social status, provided they are *British* subjects. Two inhabitants of Russia may differ in language and culture provided they agree in politics the *Communist* politics. Two inhabitants of the world of Islam may differ in language, in race, and accidentally live under alien rulers, but they possess an *Islamic-supranational* identity.

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All the peoples of Russia are taught to read the same things, but in their own different languages and dialects—the cults of the machine and the gospel of State help—for the Communist background is the slum and factory. All the peoples of America are taught to read the same things in the same language—the cult of the machine and the gospel of self help—for the Anglo-Saxon tradition is the tradition of solitary pioneers. All the peoples of Islam are taught to read the same thing in their own different languages but in the same religious spirit—the Law of individual charity and collective *zakāt*—for the Islamic tradition is the tradition of companionship and internal cohesion.

In Soviet Russia there is an economic democracy with State socialism. In the Anglo Saxon world there is a political democracy with individualistic capitalism. In Islam, both politics and economics are subordinated to the ethics of religion and, as a result, there is a spiritual democracy with a balanced combination of free individual enterprise and State moral supervision.

The Islamic system is thus a mean between the extremes of dictatorial Communism and liberal Capitalism. It urges social justice on moral grounds insisting upon the ideals of freedom and solidarity. Because freedom provides the best condition for the development of human personality private ownership and free enterprise are sanctioned. And because solidarity is essential for social progress, *zakāt* is an

obligatory institution. The Islamic approach to Labour is different from the Marxist, for Islam is opposed to the doctrine of class-struggle and to drastic leveling of fortunes as well as to the destruction of individualism. The State intervenes in economic life, when necessary, to protect the rights of individuals and groups and to aid in the advancement of the general economic welfare. By subjecting both Labour and Capital to religious morals, Islam removes a major cause of social conflict. The economic rôle of the State does not imply government *control*, but government *supervision*, leaving the actual organization in individual hands, and acting as a brake on those who would plunge into extremes.

Equipoise and a sense of proportion are the distinguishing features of the Islamic way, which is a way by which human differences of character and capacity and desire are not suppressed but converted into complementary parts of a single whole. In sociology, in politics, in economy, in ethics, *Islam in the world is the middle world*

Before the first World War, the Muslim peoples seemed exhausted. Yet their recuperative powers are extraordinary. A profound transformation began stirring into action throughout the vast Islamic world. In the inter-war period, the current of nationalism in Asia and Africa rose steadily faster than ever before. The spirit of self-respect and independence grew so vigorously that anything like subservience to any alien Power became intolerable. In their struggle for

freedom the Muslim peoples were determined to attain independent rule and complete mastery in their own house

As the imperialist flood of Western Europe receded several Islamic units emerged, and the rebirth of Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq Persia and Afghanistan represents in itself one of the most remarkable movements in the political history of the inter war decades. The World War II has carried the Islamic world a step forward towards its emancipation. It has speeded up the reawakening of Islam, and acted as a potent spur to the reinforcement of national and collective spirit of determination. The Arab countries are today asserting themselves with peculiar force in the Middle East, and Egypt the leading power of the Arab language believes herself destined to be the strong nucleus of a great Arab Unit which should embrace all Arab lands from Casablanca to Bassora and from the northern border of Syria to the southern frontiers of the Sudan. Other major Islamic units are emerging and becoming day by day a concrete fact. Pakistan in India and Indonesia in the Malay Archipelago. Islamic self consciousness is further coming into evidence in remote regions like China and East Africa. The coming years may witness the rise of a Chinese Jinnah who would identify himself with the aspirations of fifty million Chinese Muslims to an independent State of their own. In East Africa too there is a progressive religious and cultural awakening, and cities like Dar-es-Salam in Tanganyika

and Haïar in Abyssinia are likely to develop into new centres of Islamic culture

Today the Muslim peoples are crystallizing into compact units; their strength is rising, their moral force regenerated, and they are striving for political power. They show a common tendency to unite, which draws its force from the general reawakening of Islamic consciousness and the deep-rooted sentiment of common religious origin and common ideal. This feeling is reinforced by the struggle against foreign domination and control, which binds Orientals of different countries. The evolution of the Islamic countries, along these lines, will continue at an increasing rate.

Such then is the hope of things to come. Within a score of years from now the world may see an Islam rising, more independent, more united and abounding with youthful vigour. A new Arab power may be springing up and, together with Turkey, would constitute a strong bastion in the Middle East. The powerful self-consciousness of 100,000,000 Muslims in India, in itself a phenomenon of high political significance, is in a fair way of achieving its goal. Pakistan, which may prove to be a mainspring for a future Islamic grouping in central and southern Asia, from Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, through Afghanistan, to Calcutta. The Indonesian Republic is making headway to an efficient State from and may in the future expand so as to include other Muslim regions of the Malay Archipelago as well as the Sulu Island

in the Philippines As regards the Caucasian and the Central Asian (Turkestan) Units, so long as the present regime in Russia remains in power, there seems very little opportunity of their emergence In fact their only chance of liberation seems to be in an eventual Desovietization of Russia Following upon their progressive emergence and consolidation, the individual Islamic units would be integrated cemented together into a solid structure of Islamic unity As a consequence of such an all Islam unity, a new universal solidarity would surely develop

No matter how distant the achievement of this ultimate goal may seem today, it is inevitable that Islam should organize itself into a union binding all its followers The idea of an all-Islam unity is much more realizable than any other put forward, at the present time for European federation, for the following man's reasons

First and primarily The common Islamic interests values attitudes, and ideals, which are the prerequisites of successful Union exist psychologically and are at present being vigorously roused in a degree which is sufficient to move Muslims to effective action The necessary psychological basis for successful unification is rapidly gathering force in the Islamic world

Secondly One of a considerable desire for union more and more Muslim States are consulting with each other and forming regional groups within the

scope of the world organization, to protect their common interests.

Thirdly : The cultural and moral unity of Islam already exists. Not only governments, but the peoples themselves, throughout the Muslim world, have a natural urge towards unity.

Fourthly : In Islam, national interests are integrated into international Muslim interests. The fact that Islam transcends barriers of language, of race, of economic interests, and of power politics, renders the achievement of unity easy. In the Islamic world the military and political courses are naturally and automatically aligned by the common interest of averting or resisting any external aggression. Not only a common foreign policy and a co-ordination of military resources in case of need are natural, but economic integration is also facilitated by the fact that, from the Islamic point of view, there should be no conflict of economic interests between the component units. For, according to Muslim economic morals, instead of going separate ways, the individual units should act jointly as complementary members of one organism and should develop economic activities on co-operative rather than competitive lines. With regard to production and consumption, a large and expanding inter-Islamic market can be developed, which, with an elimination of tariff problems, would have the effect of raising the standard of living, and enhancing the level of trade activities in the Muslim countries.

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Fifthly The Islamic units are singularly well-balanced by nature being geographically juxtaposed in one powerfully linked chain across Africa and Asia, in an intermediate position between East and West. Within them lies a rich potential of raw materials to be developed for their own and the world's needs.

Finally Islamic Law demands such a unity since the institution of the Caliphate is its symbol.

In order to co-ordinate the efforts and actions involved in the process of unification I specifically propose the setting up of a Caliphate Council, duly elected by true representatives of all Muslim peoples in an all-Islamic Congress. This proposal is based upon the assumption that the emancipation of the Islamic countries as well as their grouping will make steady progress during the coming years, and that their march towards unity will not be interfered with by the disruptive action of some extraneous Power. In this connection let it be stressed that Islamic union is not intended by any means for aggressive purposes.

I am putting forward this proposal as a preliminary practical solution for the vital problem of the Caliphate since, at the present time there is not a single Muslim ruler capable of assuming the title of Caliph with dignity and power so that the office itself will remain vacant for some time to come. Until the consolidation of a sufficient measure of political independence and military power in the Islamic world rendering possible the election of a Caliph by universal Muslim representation, the Caliphate Council

should act, in the meantime, as the temporo-spiritual *Guide* (not *Head*) of the Islamic World. This Council would give all Muslim countries a chance to rally round a common Muslim standard and make for a unified and consistent Islamic policy. It should exist for the purpose of operating freely without any foreign non-Muslim interference in every sphere of Islamic interest whether religious, political, economic or social, and watching over a collective defence of the lands of Islam. In fact, it should act as an efficient All-Islam League.

The establishment of the Caliphate Council need not be hampered or delayed by the fact that, at present, only a minor part of the Islamic world is really independent. For, first, the Council should be federal in composition, consisting of equal members and involving no superiority of one represented State over another. Secondly, its very creation would enhance the process of emancipation of the individual Muslim countries, thanks to the co-ordination of policy and action. It would also consolidate and strengthen the position of Islam in its dealings with the rest of the world.

In order to have a right estimate of the prospects for the future I might recall, in brief, the present condition of the Islamic world.

As a religion, Islam can claim one out of every five inhabitants of the entire globe as its followers, and is steadily expanding. Morally and as a culture, it constitutes an essential unity. Psychologically, it

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is a dynamic organism with global feelings and reactions of its organs. Socially, it is in a state of transition and readjustment. Economically, it possesses a potential wealth capable of very great development. Strategically, it occupies a vital area of the globe. Biologically, the Islamic world is inhabited by extraordinarily prolific peoples. Politically, Islam is a potent factor in world affairs. Technically, the Muslim countries are in a state of avowed inferiority. Militarily, although Muslim troops are among the bravest in the world, the Muslim States (with the possible exception of Turkey) are severely lacking in modern military equipment and organization.

With regard to the attitude of the World Powers in relation to the Islamic world, the state of affairs may be summed up thus. Great Britain, aware of inescapable result of the rapidly growing tide of the nationalism and self-consciousness in the East, is seeking a retreat with honour, provided her imperial interests and communications are safeguarded. The United States has no territorial ambitions and, although looking after her commercial interests, seems desirous of an honest co-operation with an Islamic world as free as possible. As for Russia, which is greatly interested in the Arab world as a key to World Power, she is pursuing a conspicuous policy of infiltration and expansion.

Since the end of the last War, the centre of decision in world affairs has left Europe—which has irretrievably lost its ascendancy—and shifted to Asia. It is therefore, necessary to define the attitude of the

Islamic peoples towards the World Powers, and I will be outspoken. All forms of imperialism, old and new, must go. The Muslim countries want effective, not formal, independence. The Western democracies should give full heed to their aspirations and sympathetically recognize their rights to freedom. The British record (as is that of France, Holland, Spain and Italy) in the Islamic world is besmirched enough, and it is time that Great Britain renounce half-measures and fickleness in diplomacy, and adopt, in practice, and not in official statements only, a policy of tolerant realism towards the Muslim peoples in order to heal the breach. It is more valuable to Great Britain to secure a genuine friendship without a treaty than a formal treaty without friendship. It is wrong to expect the Muslim nations to endure disguised forms of foreign control. In reaching out towards national reconstruction, particularly in the economic and military fields, they want complete freedom, and there should be no question of foreign economic or financial imperialism. There should be no attempt to arrest the progress of the movement towards regional and collective union in the Islamic world.

It is a dangerous policy to transform the Middle East into a moat, in which the rival World Powers can fish and counter one foreign propaganda with another equally foreign propaganda. Therein lies the peril to the security of the world. It is in the interest of stability and peace that the Middle East

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should rather be made into a bastion of free Muslim countries, politically independent economically prosperous, and militarily strong

Potentially to the Islamic world, the Soviet East is a more redoubtable neighbour and the Democratic West a more valuable ally Russia's secular ambition in regard to Turkey has been whetted rather than sated by her victory in the World War II She has renewed the attempt to seize the Straits and to secure access to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf She is systematically gaining influence in the peripheral lands along her eastern border and insidiously working her way south The temporary halt in her expansionist plan and her retreat from Persia are in conformity with the teachings of Lenin which continue to inspire Soviet Russian policy 'We must retire one step, in order to be able thereupon, to advance three steps

I have never been either in Great Britain the United States, nor Soviet Russia, and I have no acquaintance with any politician nor official person in a responsible position in any of these countries, but I will say this much whatever our present grievances and misunderstandings with the Anglo Saxon Powers we Muslims should foster bonds of amity and mutual goodwill with the democratic West with which we have multifarious spiritual and cultural affinities and maintain correct normal relations with the Soviet East

The United States has a tradition of sympathizing with emancipation movements and more than any

other Power, she has been a most faithful champion of human liberty, a valiant helper in the struggle of nations for justice. We wish to see a firm and secure friendship established between the United States and the Muslim world. We welcome with cordiality U S. technical assistance in industry, agriculture, hygiene, and military as well as administrative organization

We welcome all efforts to reach a mutually acceptable agreement between us and Great Britain, and we are inspired by admiration for the great English nation, from whom we can learn many valuable and practical lessons

We are friendly to the Russian people, but we repudiate Communism entirely. We keenly resent Russia's claim to any annexation or control of Turkish territory, and we are also hotly resentful of any attempt to estrange the Arabs from the Turks, their co-religionists.

Islam is indispensable to the world By its absolute monotheism and its universal brotherhood, Islam laid the only stable foundation upon which a unity of nations can successfully be built. By taking politics out of nationality and subordinating nationality to Faith, Islam removes a major cause of war between the nations By synthesizing the diverse national cultures and blending them harmoniously into a universal culture, Islam has made a valuable contribution to the progress of humanity. By holding to the hope of happiness in the hereafter and the

disdain of worldly power and by constantly linking man to God the moral philosophy of Islam strongly conduces to the peace of the soul, which is the true peace. In an age of rampant materialism, which has come through the rise of the industrial order, and of decay in religious beliefs in many parts of the world, the fact that the great Muslim masses devoutly adhere to their religious faith, holds forth hope for a spiritual regeneration of the world.

Islam today is a spectator of the world drama. But it is placed in a special position, very near the centre of the stage which is occupied by two dominant actors each of whom has behind him a number of satellites in secondary rôles. These two extraordinarily dynamic actors are engaged in a cumulative and potentially dangerous game, in which they are inevitably bound to jeopardize the body of the spectator himself. In their contest for supremacy, the principal actors on the world stage—the Soviet, East and the Democratic West—seek to win the enthusiastic applause of the spectator—the Islamic world. But they are bound to tread upon the limbs and even the trunk of this very spectator. This drama, which may be enacted through many scenes, is likely to involve a gigantic shock, and in all probability, will end in bilateral exhaustion.

In order to support this terrible shock and to successfully sustain the stupendous thrust of the antagonistic actors the spectator possesses one and only one powerful arm—his intrinsically powerful

and inspiring Faith an inexhaustible fountain-head of spiritual power. Inasmuch as he is resolutely determined upon spiritual and moral preparedness during the present respite before the approach of the conflict, the spectator of the world drama will be able, when the time comes, to stand the ordeal as he always has done throughout his history.

Far from holding itself aloof or being indifferent to the eventual exhaustion of the world actors, Islam, by virtue of its universalist spirit, will be able like a universal blood donor to transfuse its resuscitating spiritual powers into the organism of a depleted humanity. In looking at the cycle of world history, I might predict that the next phase of victory for Islam will not open today or tomorrow but on the day after tomorrow.

One thing is certain Islam is on the march. Those peoples who are not followers of it can sympathize with it, or resist it, but they cannot stop it.

Before laying down my pen I earnestly wish that the genuine voice of Islam be heard inside and outside the Islamic world

We Muslims feel very happy in our Faith, but nothing could be further from our intentions than to impose it upon other peoples. We are proud of our culture, but we fully appreciate all that is good in other cultures and would freely benefit from them. We are profoundly attached to those sentiments which go to make the force of our society, namely,

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the sentiments of fraternity, solidarity and charity, but we have not the slightest pretension of being a superior race, we are only human beings. We aspire to be entirely free, and to revive our religion, our institutions and our common heritage, this is our legitimate right. We look forward to achieving the unity of the Islamic World as it actually existed during the prime of Islam, this is our ideal. Towards all other peoples who do not share our religion, our culture and our ideals our attitude should be identical with that which was ours during the brightest phases of Islamic history: enlightened tolerance, mutual respect and good neighbourhood. With the rest of mankind we are whole-heartedly willing to promote a righteous peace in the world.

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APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

There have been many attempts to estimate the number of Muslims throughout the world. Accurate statistical data are, however, lacking for many regions. Consequently, there has been a great discrepancy between different estimates. Where official information is lacking, rough calculations are worked out and the figures for populations are approximations only.

We give below a statistical survey, in more or less round numbers of the world of Islam, based primarily upon the most recent official statistics where such are available, and as for the rest, an approximate estimate is rendered by data supplied by indigenous sources. There is no practical use in indulging in too optimistic estimates. Yet some factors have to be taken into account with regard to these statistics.

1. That current statistics of the Muslim world, as cited in works by Western scholars are mostly, if not wholly based on ancient estimates with the result that the figures they give for the Muslim populations are very much below the present estimates.

2. That Muslim peoples multiply very much quicker than the Western nations, and,

3. That the last War hardly touched the Muslim peoples.

The world distribution of Muslims shows that the majority are found in Asia. In Africa, the followers of Islam outnumber by many times those of other religions and constitute over half of the total population of that continent. In Europe, Muslims to the number of several millions are found mainly in the Balkan States and the European regions of Russia. And there are important groups of Muslims in North and South America and in the Pacific (mainly in the Philippine Islands). At present, the largest single and homogeneous Muslim unit is the Indian bloc of one hundred million Muslims.

AFRICA

Egypt	...	...	...	16,000,000
The Sudan	...	...	...	5,500,000
Libya (Tripoli and Cyrenaica)	...	...	...	1,000,000
Tunisia	...	...	...	2,500,000
Algeria	...	...	...	7,000,000
Morocco (French zone)	...	...	...	6,800,000
Morocco (Spanish zone)	...	...	...	700,000
Tangier	...	...	...	50,000
Senegal	...	...	...	1,400,000
French Sudan	...	...	...	2,100,000
Upper Volta	600,000
French Guiana	2,000,000
Ivory Coast	1,000,000
Dahomy	6,00,000

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Togoland	500 000
The colony of the Niger	1 200 000
Dakar and Dependencies	80,000
Mauritania (includes the districts of Trarza, Brakna Gorgol Assaba Guidi- maka, Adrar, Levrier Bay, Akjoujt and Tagant)—under French rule	400 000
The Great Sahara Socoto Barno, Adamoua, Ouadai	20,000 000
Gambia	300 000
Serra Leone	2 000 000
The Gold Coast (The Colony, Ashanti and northern territories)	200 000
Nigeria (Northern and Southern Pro- vinces)	11 000 000
Portuguese Guiana	300 000
Liberia	1 000 000
The Cameroons	1 000 000
Gabun	200 000
Middle Congo	400 000
Ubangi-Shari	120 000
Chad Region	1 100,000
British Cameroons	500 000
Cape Verde Island (Portuguese)	60 000
Angola (Portuguese)	1 000
South-West Africa	100 000
The Union of South Africa (Cape Province Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Basutoland Swaziland Northern Rhodesia Southern Rhodesia)	180 000

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Portuguese East Africa-Mozambique	...	1,000,000
Bechuanaland (British)	50,000
Belgian Congo	... ..	200,000
Nyasaland (British)	... ..	500,000
Reunion Island (French)	... ..	5,000
Madagascar (French)	... ..	800,000
Seychelles Islands (British)	... ..	5,000
Zanzibar (British Protectorate) and Pemba	... ..	230,000
Kenya Colony and Protectorate	...	2,000,000
Tanganyika Territory	... ..	1,000,000
Uganda (British Protectorate)	... ..	1,000,000
British Somaliland	... ..	700,000
French Somaliland	... ..	300,000
Former Italian Somaliland	... ..	1,200,000
Eritrea	... ..	500,000
Abssinia (Ethiopia)	... ..	4,500,000

EUROPE

Albania	... ..	800,000
Yugoslavia	... ..	1,500,000
Bulgaria	... ..	900,000
Rumania	... ..	250,000
Greece	... ..	180,000
Other countries (not including Turkey in Europe and Russia)	300,000
Cyprus	65,000
Rhodes	15,000

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ASIA

Turkey	18 000 000
Syria and Lebanon	3 000 000
Palestine	1 071 000
Transjordan	150 000
Iraq	4 500 000
Saudi Arabia	7 000 000
Yemen	3 500 000
Aden Colony	50 000
Aden Protectorate	600 000
Karman Island	2 200
Peim Island	1,700
Muscat and Oman	550,000
Qatar	30 000
Persia (Iran)	15 000 000
Afghanistan	10 000 000
India	100 000 000
China	50 000 000
Japan <i>400,000,000</i>	70,000,000
Korea	80 000
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	30 000 000
Indo-China	100 000
Siam	300 000
British Malaya	3,000 000
Ceylon	600,000
British Borneo	270 000
Sarawak	120 000

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Indonesia . (Java, Sumatra, and also Celebes, Borneo, Moloccas, New Guinea, and other islands of the Malaya Archipelago)	65,000,000
Japan	5,000

AMERICA

North America	250,000
South America	500,000
Philippine Islands, Australasia and Oceania	1,000,000

The total Muslim world population may be estimated at close on 400 millions.

